THE
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
OF THE QURÁN

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THIS edition has been carefully revised and considerably enlarged. A liberal use has been made of Baiḍáwí's Commentary and all references have been verified.

E. S.

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INTRODUCTION

This work does not profess to be a life of Muhammad. It is a history of the development of the Qur'án, showing how its gradual formation was determined by the events of the Prophet's life. Treated in this way, the Qur'án reveals his change of position towards the various classes of persons with whom he was brought into contact, and by the aptness of its injunctions, its apologies, its denunciations, we are enabled to see how admirably this 'piecemeal' revelation was fitted to meet the requirements of Islám as they arose.

For the dates and the order of the Súras, or chapters of the Qur'án, I have followed Nöldeke's 'Geschichte des Qorans,' which seems to me to be the best and most authoritative book on the subject. The following table shows the order in which Noldeke arranges the Súras. He divides the Meccan ones into three groups, the earlier, middle, and later periods, and places all the Madina Súras in a fourth group.

Meccan Súras

First Period.—From the first to the fifth year of the Prophet's Mission. A.D. *612—17.*

96, 74, 111, 106, 108, 104, 107, 102, 105, 92, 90, 94, 93, 97, 86, 91, 80, 68, 87, 95, 103, 85, 73, 101, 99, 82, 81, 53, 84, 100, 79, 77, 78, 88, 89, 75, 83, 69, 51, 52, 56, 70, 55, 112, 109, 113, 114, 1.

Second Period.—The fifth and sixth years of the Prophet's Mission. A.D. *617—19.*

54, 37, 71, 76, 44, 50, 20, 26, 15, 19, 38, 36, 43, 72, 67, 23, 21, 25, 17, 27, 18.

Third Period.—From the seventh year to the Hijra. A.D. *619—22.*

32, 41, 45, 16, 30, 11, 14, 12, 40, 28, 39, 29, 31, 42, 10, 34, 35, 7, 46, 6, 13.

Madína Súras

From the Hijra to the end. A.D. *622—32.*

2, 98, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 65, 59, 33, 63, 24, 58, 22, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5.

In the quotations from the Qur'án I have used the translations of Rodwell and of Palmer and occasionally that of Sale and that of Lane. I have also compared these with the Persian translations of Ḥusain and of Sháh Walí Ulláh Muḥaddath and also the Urdu translations by Abdu'l-Qádir and by Dr. Nadhir Aḥmad Khán;

and that given in the Khulásatu't-Tafásir. I have consulted many commentaries in arriving at the interpretations which I have given. The commentaries, however, deal mainly with the elucidation of the meanings of words and phrases and do not, as a rule, throw much light on the various readings of the text, or on the date of the Súras or their component parts. The spirit of the Higher Criticism has yet to be created amongst modern Muslim theologians. Their exegesis is traditional rather than scientific.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE QUR'ÁN

CHAPTER I

THE MECCAN PERIOD

A COMPARISON of the historical facts in the life of Muḥammad with the various portions of the Qur'án connected with them is necessary, if that life is to be intelligently understood. Another and equally important result of such comparison is that it shows the gradual way in which the Qur'án came into existence and how admirably the revelations fitted in to the local circumstances, and gave what was claimed to be divine authority and support to the varied actions of the Prophet. In this way alone could his change of policy be justified and he himself be protected from the charge of time-serving and inconsistency.

The arrangement of the Súras, or chapters in the Qur'án, is not chronological. The longest Súras are placed first in the book. Thus, to take the Qur'án and read it straight through throws no light on the life and work of the

Prophet, but simply bewilders the reader. The Arab and Persian commentators have arranged the Súras in some definite order, and Muir and Nöldeke have also attempted to place them in chronological sequence. There are differences of opinion as to the exact date of some Súras, and of portions of others which are certainly composite, but for all practical purposes we can now arrange them in some sort of consecutive order.

In the following pages, I try to show how the Súras when thus placed in their true chronological order cast much light on the policy, the teaching, and the actions of the great Arabian Prophet.

The first words revealed are those which the Prophet heard in the cave of Mt. Ḥirá', situated about three miles from Mecca, and now recorded in the Súratu'l-'Alaq (xcvi) 1-2:[1]

> Recite thou in the name of thy Lord who created,
> Created man from clots of blood.[2]

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[1] Throughout the roman numerals in brackets refer to the number of the Súra in the Qur'án, and the figures to the verses.

[2] اِقْرَأ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِى خَلَقَ   خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَقٍ

From the use of اِقْرَأ here it is sometimes said that Muḥammad must have been able to read, but قَرَأَ means more generally to recite, and in the cognate dialects to

It is said by some that the words in the Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 214,

Warn thy relatives of nearer kin,

contain the first call to preach; but the objections to this view are, that the context 'kindly lower thy wing over the faithful who follow thee' (215), and the words 'who seeth thee when thou standest in prayer and thy demeanour among those who worship' (218-9), both presuppose the existence of a small Musalmán community. The style of the Súra, too, is not that of the earliest period, and such combinations as ٱلْعَزِيزُ ٱلرَّحِيمُ the Mighty, the Merciful and ٱلسَّمِيعُ ٱلْعَلِيمُ the Hearer, the Knower belong to the later Súras.

Then followed a period, called the Fatra, during which no revelations came. It is said to have lasted three years. During this time the mind of the Prophet was in much suspense

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call out, to proclaim. Thus קָרָא to cry out as a prophet. In Isaiah xl. 6 we have.

קוֹל אֹמֵר קְרָא וְאָמַר מָה אֶקְרָא

'The voice said "Cry," and he said, "what shall I cry?"' See Noldeke, *Geschichte des Qoráns*, pp. 9-10

This Súra is a good illustration of a composite one, for from verse six onwards the revelation belongs to the later Meccan period and refers to the opposition of Abú Jahl—*v*. 6, and those associated with him—*v*. 16.

and he even doubted his call to a divine mission. The *Quraish*, a leading tribe in Mecca, to which the Prophet himself belonged, did not all this while actively oppose Muhammad; they looked upon him as a madman, and in the East madness is often supposed to be accompanied with a sort of inspiration. In religious matters, the Meccans were not narrow-minded, nor was their religion exclusive. They tolerated the various creeds then accepted in Arabia and opened the Ka'ba to men of all sects. Waraqa, the cousin of Muhammad, one of the Ḥanifs, embraced Christianity, but no one blamed him or interfered with him on that account. So at first they treated Muḥammad with good humoured contempt. The opposition against him was aroused when he set up his own teaching as the exclusive way of life and explicitly and implicitly condemned all other religions. So long as he kept to general statements, such as exhortations to lead good lives, or allusions to the Last Day, the people of Mecca cared little; but, when he began to attack the idolatry of the Ka'ba, the case was quite altered and active opposition commenced. The chief cause of this was the intense dislike they had to the changing of what had been long established. They had great reverence for the religion which made Mecca a sacred centre for the Arab people. As yet they had no idea that Muḥam-

mad would, by adopting into Islám much of the old pagan ceremonial of the Ka'ba, conserve that feeling. Then he worked no miracles. They had only his own word in support of his claim.

It would not be difficult to show that he was, from the first, influenced by patriotic motives and that he had a politico-religious system in view. Ibn Isháq tells us that, as Muḥammad owed the amount of toleration he enjoyed solely to the support of his relatives, the elders of the Quraish begged his uncle Abú Tálib to arrange some way of peace by mutual concessions. Abú Tálib thereupon asked him to make some concession and stated that the Quraish would also do the same. To this Muhammad replied: 'Well then, give me a word whereby the Arabs may be governed and the Persians subjugated;'[1] and added, 'Say there is no God except Alláh and renounce what you worship beside Him.' In other words, accept my teaching and Arabia shall be united and her enemies subdued. The Meccans realized the danger and replied: 'We are not sure whether the dominion will not be taken from us.' The political factor in the

[1] Quoted by Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 74.

inception of Islám has been far too much overlooked. The result of the battle of Múta (A.H. 8), for example, was disastrous from a military point of view; but it exalted Muḥammad as the champion of a national idea and so produced a good effect. The men of Mecca saw that acceptance of Muhammad's teaching might mean war and possible defeat, and this feeling no doubt added strength to their increasing opposition. They now called him liar, sorcerer, poet, soothsayer, demoniac. Even at the door of the Ka'ba, they assailed him. Once he lost his temper and said: 'Hear, ye Quraish, I come to you with slaughter,'[1] a threat which he was not able to carry out for many years; but the Quraish could not know this and so the next day they attacked him again. Abú Bakr had to come to his aid, and there 'was no man that day,' says ibn Isháq, 'free or slave, who did not call him a liar and insult him.' All through these troubles his uncle Abú Tálib, though not at all convinced of the truth of his nephew's claims, was his steady protector. The Quraish urged him to withdraw his protection, but all that he would do was

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[1] Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 87. This little incident also shows that from the first he had thoughts of political power.

to remonstrate with his troublesome nephew thus: 'Spare me and thyself, and do not burden me with more than I can bear;' but Muḥammad was firm, and so his uncle, true to the ties of relationship, dismissed the deputation and told him to go on, adding these words, 'By Alláh, I shall in no wise surrender thee to them.'

The conception of Muhammad as a poor man, a mere camel driver, forcing his own way, unaided, against strong opposition is unfounded. He belonged to one of the most distinguished tribes in Arabia, and was a member of a highly aristocratic family. His relations were men of great political and social influence and that was used for his personal protection. If that support had not been given, Muhammad might have failed under the pressure of opposition and Islám might never have come into existence.

Some of Muhammad's followers, such as Abú Bakr and others who could claim connexion with some influential family in Mecca, though despised and insulted, were free from personal danger. The strong family affection was a safeguard against the serious molestation of any member of it, even though he had joined the new teaching; but, if Muhammad and some of his adherents were thus protected, it was otherwise with his followers who were gathered out from

the slaves and the lower class of Arabs[1] for whom there was no powerful protector from amongst the leading members of the great Meccan families. They were cruelly tortured and imprisoned. Muhammad was much concerned at this, and even encouraged them to dissemble in order to escape torture. One day he met a man called 'Ammár bin Yásir who was weeping. In reply to Muhammad's enquiries, he said, 'Oh Prophet, they would not let me go till I had abused thee, and spoken well of their gods.' Muhammad said: 'But how dost thou find thy heart?' 'Secure and steadfast in the faith.' 'Then,' continued Muhammad, 'if they repeat their cruelty, repeat thou also thy words.' The case of such unwilling deniers of the faith is provided for in the Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi), 108, which is said to have been revealed after, the interview with 'Ammár bin Yásir.[2]

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[1] This was one of the objections urged against his claims by the Quraish:

> Then said the chiefs of the people, 'we see in thee but a man like ourselves, and we see not those who have followed thee, except our meanest ones of hasty judgment, nor see we any excellence in you above ourselves. nay, we deem you liars'
> —Súratu Húd (xi), 29.

[2] *Tafásír* of 'Abdu'lláh bin 'Abbás and *Khulásatu't-Tafásír*, vol. ii., p. 578, where the story of the early persecutions of the Muslims is related.

Whoso, after he hath believed in God, denieth Him, if he was forced to it and if his heart remain steadfast in the faith, *shall be guiltless*.[1]

About this time, when the Prophet's mind was full of anxiety, the two short Súras, the Súratu'ḍ-Ḍuhá (xciii) and the Súratu'l-Inshiráh (xciv), both addressed directly to Muhammad himself, and Súratu'l-Káfirún (cix) and Súratu'l-Ikhláṣ (cxii), addressed to the people, were revealed for his consolation:

By the noon-day brightness,
And by the night when it darkeneth,
Thy Lord hath not forsaken thee, neither hath He been displeased;
And surely the future shall be better than the past—(xciii), 1—4.
Have we not opened thine heart for thee?
And taken off from thee thy burden,
Which galled thy back?
And have we not raised thy name for thee?
Then verily along with trouble cometh ease.
But when thou art set at liberty, then prosecute thy toil,
And seek thy Lord with fervour—(xciv.)

[1] The commentators add the words in italics, which are not in the Arabic text, but are required to complete the sense. Thus, اس غصب سے بری هی — 'Free from this wrath'—*Khulásatu't-Tafásir*, vol. ii., p. 578. 'For him there is no calling to account' See *Translation of the Qur'án* by Nadhir Aḥmad.

Say: O ye unbelievers!
I worship not that which ye worship,
And ye do not worship that which I worship
I shall never worship that which ye worship
Neither will ye worship that which I worship.
To you be your religion: to me my religion—(cix) 1—6.[1]
Say: He is God alone;
God the Eternal!
He begetteth not and He is not-begotten;
And there is none like unto Him—(cxii) 1—4.

Thus, in a period of depression, the Prophet was encouraged by direct messages to himself to protest against idolatry and by the deepening of his faith in the contemplation of the Unity of the Godhead.

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[1] The Súra is said to have been revealed when some Meccan leaders Abú Jahl, 'Ás, Walíd and others suggested a compromise to the effect that the God of Muḥammad should be worshipped at the same time as the Meccan deities, or alternately each year. Muḥammad did not fall into the snare, and in this Súra distinctly rejected the old idolatry. Soon after in Súratu'l-Ikhlás (cxii) he gave the most emphatic testimony possible to the Unity of God.

The term dín for religion here occurs for the first time, and is applied both to Meccan paganism and to Islám; afterwards it was restricted to the latter. This apparent recognition of the ancient religion is now disallowed as the words are abrogated by the آيت السيف—verse of the sword—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 5 *Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí*, vol. ii., p. 472.

The first Súra of a continued series, after the Fatra was over, is the Súratu'l-Mudaththar (lxxiv)[1] after which there was no more cessation of the revelations. This Súra came at a time when the Prophet was mocked and jeered at, charged with being a mere poet, or a soothsayer, misleading others with his rhapsodies. It is a clear indication to him to go straight on with his mission, and a command to preach:

> O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle!
> Arise and warn!
> Thy Lord—magnify Him!
> Thy raiment—purify it!
> The abomination—flee it! 1—5.

The people of Mecca were obdurate and the leader of the opposition was, according to the commentators ibn 'Abbás and Baiḍáwí, Walid

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[1] The general consensus of Muslim commentators is that this Súra was the first one revealed after the Fatra, and the verses 1—7 clearly support that view, as the Arabic in verse 8 for a 'trump on the trumpet' (نقر فى الناقور) is peculiar to early Súras. At the same time, the Sura is a composite one, for the eleventh verse, 'Leave me alone to deal with him whom I have created,' points to an unbelieving opponent This is said to be Walíd bin Mughaira. The verses 31—4 seem to refer to opponents at Madina, Jews, unbelievers, hypocrites and idolaters, classes often grouped together there, and so these verses must have been inserted in the Súra at that later date.

bin Mughaira the chief of Mecca He is re ferred to in these vindictive verses

> Leave me alone to deal with him whom I have created
> And on whom I have bestowed vast riches
> And sons dwelling before him
> And for whom I smoothed all things smoothly down
> Yet desireth he that I should add more !
> But no ! because to our signs he is a foe
> I will lay grievous woes upon him
> For he plotted and he planned !
> May he be cursed ! 11–19

He had said that the words of the Prophet were those of a mere man and were spoken under the influence of magic Then follows the condem nation

> We will surely cast him into hell fire
> And who shall teach him what hell fire is ?
> It leaveth nought it spareth nought
> Blackening the skin 26 9

This same person is referred to in Suratu l Qalam (lxviii) as

> The man of oaths a despicable person
> Defamer going about with slander 10—11
> Who when our wondrous verses are recited to him saith
> Fables of the Ancients
> We will brand him in the nostrils 15—16

Another bitter opponent of Muḥammad, was his uncle Abú Lahab, who was instigated by his wife to reject Muhammad's claim. Both uncle and aunt are fiercely condemned in an early Meccan chapter, Súratu'l-Lahab (cxi):

> Let the hand of Abú Lahab perish and let himself perish!
> His wealth and his gain shall avail him not,
> Burned shall he be at the fiery flame,
> And his wife laden with fire-wood,
> On her neck a rope of palm fibre.[1]

Súratu'l-Humazah (civ) is directed against a rich man named Akhnas ibn Sharíf,[2] and clearly

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[1] If all that tradition relates about Abú Lahab is correct, this Súra becomes of much interest and value as showing how the special circumstances in which Muhammad was placed influenced even the very words used, in the Qur'án. Thus, it is related that Muhammad one day called his kinsmen together to hear his claims. Abú Lahab became very angry and said 'Hast thou called me for this? Mayest thou perish!' Then taking a stone in his two hands, he threw it at Muḥammad So his hand was to perish His wife Umm Jamíl put thorns on a path over which the Prophet walked. Then one day as she was going along with a bundle of fire-wood, the rope around it twisted round her neck and she was strangled—*Raudatu's-Safa.* Part ii., vol. 1, p. 161. *Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír*, vol iv, p 126. The words ذَاتَ لَهَبٍ—Dháta lahabin, which mean 'fiery flame,' are a play on the name of Abú Lahab, or 'Father of flames'—*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, p. 477.

[2] Baidáwí, vol. ii., p. 416.

belongs to this period, though Noldeke mentions, but without approval, that some Muslim authorities consider it a Madina one:

> Woe to every backbiter, defamer!
> Who amasseth wealth and storeth it against the future!
> He thinketh surely that his wealth shall be with him for ever.
> Nay! for verily he shall be flung into the crushing fire,
> And who shall teach thee what the crushing fire is?
> It is God's kindled fire,
> Which shall mount above the hearts of the damned. 1—7.

In a late Meccan Súra, a number of persons are referred to as refusing to listen and to have become so obdurate that, even after punishment, they would be unconvinced The words are:

> Some among them hearken unto thee,[1] but we

[1] The persons referred to are Abu Sufyán, Nadhír, Walíd 'Utba, Shaibu and others They asked Nadhír if he understood what Muhammad was saying He replied that he did not, he only saw that he moved his tongue and told foolish stories The reference in the next verse is to these same persons who forbade people to become Muslims, or to Abú Ṭálib, who forbade the enemies of Muḥammad, his nephew, to injure him, but would not himself accept Islám Baidáwí, vol. i, p. 287.

Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí, vol. i., p. 167.

> have cast a veil over their hearts that they should not understand it (Qur'án) and a weight into their ears; and though they should see all kinds of signs, they will refuse all faith in them until when they come to thee, to dispute with thee. The infidels say, 'Verily, this is nothing but fables of the ancients.'
>
> And they will forbid it and depart from it, but they are only the authors of their own perdition, and know it not.—Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 25-6.

Abú Jahl,[1] another bitter opponent, is referred to in Súratu'l-'Alaq (xciv)

> Nay, verily, man is insolent,
>
> Because he seeth himself possessed of riches, 6—7.

It is said by Baidáwi, that he threatened to put his foot on the neck of the Prophet, when he was prostrate in prayer.

Again in the Súratu'l-Hajj (xxii) we read:

> A man there is who disputeth about God without knowledge or guidance or enlightening Book.

This is a Madína Súra and so the reference is historical and retrospective, but that is not uncommon in the later Súras. In another late Madína Súra we have:

> And be not like those Meccans, who came out of their houses insolently and to be seen of men

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[1] Baidáwí, vol. ii., p. 411. Abú Jahl was killed at the battle of Badr.

> and who turn others away from God—Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 49.

Against all this opposition, Muhammad is instructed in the Súratu'l-Qalam (lxviii) to say of himself, as from God:

> Thou, by the grace of thy Lord, art not possessed. 2.

During the next year or two the theory of divine inspiration becomes more fully developed and the infallibility of the Prophet more strenuously asserted The revelations as they come are not only declared to be the very words of God himself, but their original is said to be in Heaven:

> Yet it is a glorious Qur'án,[1]
> Written on the preserved Table—Súratu'l-Burúj (lxxxv) 21.

This table is the Lauhu'l-Mahfúz, or preserved table, kept near the throne of God. The Qur'án

> Is an admonition in revered pages, exalted, pure;
> Written by scribes honourable and just—
> Súratu'l-'Abasa (lxxx) 13—14.

The commentator Zamakhshárí explains this thus 'Being transcribed from the preserved table, kept pure and uncorrupt from the hands of evil spirits, and touched only by the Angels.'

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[1] 'Unique in arrangement and meaning'—Baidáwí, vol. ii., p 391.

Baiḍáwí says. 'Angels wrote it, or prophets transcribed the book from the (preserved) table, or by revelation, or the scribes wrote it by the revelation between God and His Prophet.'[1]

The opposition was now very severe and is met by denunciations of the strongest kind in the Súratu'l-Mursalát (lxxvii), an early Meccan one. No less than ten times in a chapter of fifty short verses are the words repeated:

> Woe be on that day to those who charged with imposture!

The active form of the opposition seems to be referred to in the thirty-ninth verse, in which a sort of challenge is set forth:

> If now ye have any craft, try your craft on me.[2]

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[1] كَتَبَة مِن الملائكة او الانبياء يتسخون الكتاب مِن اللوح او الوحى او سَفراة يَسَّفِرون بالوحى بين الله ورسله vol. ii., p 387

[2] So in the Súratu't-Táriq (lxxxvi) we have the following words.

> They plot against thee
> And I will plot against them.
> Deal calmly, therefore, with the Infidels.
> 15—17.

Some authorities, however, place this Súra later on, about the time of the first emigration to Abyssinia.

The denunciations close with the fierce command:

> Begone to that hell that ye called a lie,
> Begone to the shadows that lie in triple masses,
> But not against the flames shall they help or shade you 25—31.

The next Súra, Súratu'n-Naba' (lxxviii), is in the same strain of bitter invective:

> Hell truly shall be a place of snares,
> The home of transgressors,
> To abide therein ages,
> No coolness shall they taste therein nor any drink,
> Save boiling water and running sores,
> Meet recompense!
> For they looked not forward to their account,
> And they gave the lie to our signs, charging them with falsehood;
> But we noted and wrote down all
> Taste this then, and we will give increase of nought—but torment. 21—30.

Súratu'l-Burúj (lxxxv) refers to the persecutions suffered by the early Muslims[1] and to the punishment of those who vex the believers For them there is waiting the torments of hell, and 'the torment of the burning.' To confirm

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[1] Unless *vv.* 8—11 are of later date which a difference of style may show.

all this denunciation of those who opposed the Prophet, his hearers are reminded that the words are not his, but are those of the 'glorious Qur'án, written on the preserved table,' that is, the very words of God Himself

These more general statements of the future lot of the impenitent sometimes gave way to the threat of a temporal calamity Just as in ancient times God, before he destroyed a city, sent first a prophet to warn it, so it was now:

> We never destroyed a city which had not first its warners
>
> With admonition; nor did we deal unjustly—Súratu'sh-Shu'ará (xxvi) 208—9
>
> We never destroyed a city whose term was not prefixed.
>
> No people can forestall or retard its destiny—Súratu'l Hijr (xv) 4—5
>
> In such sort have we influenced the heart of the wicked ones,
>
> That they will not believe it till they see the grievous chastisement,
>
> And it shall come upon them on a sudden when they look not for it—Súratu'sh-Shu'ará (xxvi), 201—2.

The people of Mecca may, for a time, have been stirred by the constant reiteration of an impending local danger but, as time passed by and no calamity came to them, they passed

from curiosity to incredulity. They challenged Muhammad's message, derided his denunciations and demanded miraculous signs of his authority. They said

> By no means will we believe in thee till thou cause a fountain to gush forth for us from the earth,
>
> Or till thou have a garden of palm-trees and grapes, and thou cause forth-gushing rivers to gush forth in our midst;
>
> Or thou make the heaven to fall on us, as thou hast given out, in pieces, or thou bring God and the angels to vouch for thee--Súratu Bani Isrá'il (xvii), 92—5
>
> The unbelievers say, 'Why hath not a sign been given him by his Lord'—Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii), 8.

Muhammad had to acknowledge that he had no such credentials, but he brought revelations to show that the absence of this power was part of God's purpose in dealing with these rebellious people of Mecca.

Thus, in order to show that what he deemed mere idle curiosity could not be gratified, we have.

> We will not send down the angels without due cause—Súratu'l-Ḥijr (xv), 8.

If they would not believe from the example of those who had gone before, if they now deliberately rejected the warning and the warner,

then nothing else would help them, for in the same Súra (xv) it is written:

> Even were we to open a gate in Heaven, yet all the while they were mounting up to it,
> They would say. it is only our eyes are drunken, we are a people enchanted. 14—15.

The strongest passage of all on this subject is one at the close of the middle Meccan period, where the reason assigned is that it was quite useless to give Muhammad the power of working miracles,[1] for such a gift had practically produced no result in the case of former prophets.

> Nothing hindered us from sending thee with miracles, except that the people of old treated them as lies—Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 61.

They pressed their point, and, as we shall see later on, he had to maintain that the Qur'án was the one special miracle which attested his mission

The Meccans looked upon the doctrine of the resurrection of the body as pure imagination, and when revelations concerning it were announced, treated them as made up by Muhammad from information gathered from the foreigners at Mecca They spoke of them as

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[1] I need scarcely say that the fact that he worked no miracles, though recorded so clearly in the Qur'án, is not accepted by Muslim theologians

'Fables of the Ancients,' or as the effusion of a poetical imagination. In the Súratu't-Taṭfíf (lxxxiii)[1] delivered in the earlier part of the Meccan period of the Prophet's career, we read

> Woe, on that day, to those who treated our signs as lies,
> Who treated the day of judgment as a lie!
> None treat it as a lie, save the transgressor, the criminal,
> Who, when our signs are rehearsed to him saith, 'Tale of the Ancients'
> Yes; but their own works have got the mastery over their hearts,
> Yes, they shall be shut out as by a veil from their Lord on that day,
> Then shall they be burned in hell-fire,
> Then it shall be said to them, 'This is what ye deemed a lie.' 10—17.

A little later on at Mecca, Muhammad discouraged poetry in the words.

> It is the poets whom the erring follow—
> Súratu'sh-Shu'ará, (xxvi) 224[2]

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[1] Some commentators consider this to be a Madína Súra, some that it is a late Meccan one, but Muir and Nöldeke place it about the fourth year of the ministry at Mecca.

[2] 'Muhammad at one time employed poets to defend himself and his religion from the satires of other poets. These productions were recited at the fair at Okatz. Subsequently he suppressed them as they led to inconvenient discussions'—Rodwell's *Qur'án*, p. 120.

He also at this time rebutted the charge of being a mere poet, thus

> We have not taught him (Muḥammad) poetry, nor would it beseem him. This (book) is no other than a warning and a clear Qur'án—Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) 69.

If he were a poet or composed poetry it might appear as if the Qur'án were his own composition and not the direct words of God. These emphatic assertions are intended, it is said, to confound the infidels who made such a false charge. Apparently his opponents were not satisfied, for somewhat later on, though still at Mecca, we find the same charge repeated in Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv)

> And the infidels say, 'The Qur'án is a mere fraud of his own devising and others have helped him with it, who had come hither by outrage and lie.'
>
> And they say, 'Tales of the Ancients'[1] that he hath put in writing, and they were dictated to him morning and evening. 5—6.

The Súras of the early Meccan period exhibit the dark feelings and suspicions of the Prophet, though the language is often very fine and the rhetorical cadence is full of poetic colour The oaths with which he strengthens his teaching are

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[1] اساطير الاولين

very characteristic. The strong and comminatory attacks on his adversaries, of whom he even singles out some, are a marked feature of this period of his career. These Súras are the finest in the whole Qur'án and in them the passionate agitation of the Prophet appears at its height

A conciliatory appeal is now made to the Meccans on the ground of their privileges

> Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the army of the Elephant ?
> Did he not cause their stratagem to miscarry ?
> And he sent against them birds in flocks,
> Claystones did they hurl upon them,
> And he made them like stubble eaten down—
> Súratu'l-Fil (cv) 1—5

This is an allusion to the deliverance of the inhabitants of Mecca from the army of the King of Abyssinia, sent to destroy the Ka'ba in the year when Muhammad was born The plague, which in quite a natural way destroyed so many of the enemy, is here represented as a miraculous interposition of Providence

In the Súratu'l-Quraish (cvi) there is an allusion to the sacred Ka'ba and the inviolability of its territory:

> Let them worship the Lord of this house, who hath provided them with food against hunger,
> And secured them against alarm. 3—4

In Súratu't-Tín (xcv) a similar appeal is enforced with an oath:

> I swear by the fig and the olive
> By Mount Sinai
> And by this inviolable soil. 1—3.

Then a little later on we have in Súratu't-Túr (lii):

> By the mountain
> And by the Book written,
> On an outspread roll
> And by the frequented house. 1—4

In this way, in the early part of his Meccan career, the Prophet praised and honoured a place dear to the Meccans.

Then follows an appeal of a different description, an appeal to the lower instincts of human nature The delights of heaven, the bridal couches, the choice wines, the perfume of musk are now pourtrayed for the encouragement of the dispirited band of the faithful, one of whose chief delights in Paradise will be to lie on these bridal couches and laugh the infidels to scorn; a passage explained by some commentators thus: 'A door will be opened between heaven and hell and the damned will be called to the open door; they will run with the alacrity of hope, but just as they get to it, it will be shut in their faces and the saved, enjoying the carnal pleasures of Paradise, will add to their joy by laughing

heartily at 'the sad disappointment of the lost.' At this period, the most graphic descriptions are given of heaven and hell, not only to support the courage of the early Muslims under their trials, but also to terrify their opponents The joys of Paradise are rest and ease, robes of silken textures, wines and scents, with attendants of rare beauty All these are to be enjoyed in scenes which add to the delight of the senses To complete the attraction, there is

For the God-fearing a blissful abode,
Enclosed gardens and vineyards
And damsels with swelling breasts, their peers in age,
And a full cup—Súratu'n-Naba' (lxxviii) 31—4
And theirs shall be the Houris with large dark eyes, like pearls hidden in their shells.
Of a rare creation have we created the Houris,
And we have made them ever virgin—
Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) 22, 34-5
On couches, ranged in rows, shall they recline
And to the damsels with large dark eyes will we wed them—Súratu't Tur (lii) 20

In a Súra a little later on, about the middle period in Mecca, we have:

A stated banquet shall they have
Of fruits, and honoured shall they be
In the gardens of delight
Upon couches face to face,

A cup shall be borne round among them from a fountain,
Limpid, delicious to those who drink;
It shall not oppress the sense, nor shall they be drunken
And with them are the large-eyed ones with modest refraining glances—
Súratu's Sáffát (xxxvii) 40-7.

Gibbon sarcastically remarks on these statements, that 'Muhammad has not specified the male companions of the elect, lest he should either alarm the jealousy of the former husbands, or disturb their felicity by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage.' Faithful women as well as faithful men will renew their youth in heaven. Justice seems to demand that women, therefore, should have the same liberty as men, but Muhammad shrank from this legitimate conclusion to his teaching

The question naturally arises whether these statements were meant to be literal or allegorical. No doubt Muslim mystics[1] and philosophers have refined them away into allegory, and such a course naturally commends itself to men of

[1] Syed Amír 'Alí in the *Spirit of Islam* says 'The houris are creatures of Zoroastrian origin, so is paradise, whilst hell in the severity of its punishment is Talmudic The descriptions are realistic, in some places almost sensuous, but to say that they are sensual, or that

high moral tone in modern Islámic society, where it has been influenced by Christian thought and Western culture, but it is difficult to believe that Muhammad so intended his words to be taken, or that his hearers so understood them. Muhammad's mind was intensely practical and not in the least given to mysticism In the arrangements of the world and in the affairs of men he saw no difficulties and no mystery. The punishments of hell are material, no orthodox Muslim attempts to allegorize them, why then should the material joys of paradise be set aside? It must, however, be noted that these descriptions of a voluptuous paradise are given at a time when Muhammad was living a chaste and temperate life with a single wife. This is urged as a plea in support of the allegorical view, but it must be borne in mind that, though Muhammad was undoubtedly fond of and faithful to Khadija,[1] yet he was subject to her.

Muhammad, or any of his followers, even the ultra-literalists, accepted them as such, is a calumny, p 394

It is interesting to note how this admission of the human origin of this part of the Prophet's teaching completely disposes of the dogma of the eternal nature of the Qur'án and of its claim to be an inspired book in all its parts

[1] It is said that Khadíja was alarmed when she was told that her parents were in hell, lest her deceased sons should be also there, a statement which would not have

She was the master, she had raised him from poverty, given him a position, placed him in comparative affluence, but she kept her fortune in her own hands. Muhammad had not, even assuming that he wished so to do, the means of granting dowries, or of, in any way, obtaining other wives That his moderation then was compulsory seems to some critics evident from the fact that as soon as he was free he gratified his wishes to the full Muhammad after Khadíja's death was, according to the *Raudatu'l-Ahbab*,[1] very much dejected when a friend said, 'Why do you not marry again?' he replied, 'Who is there that I could take?' 'If thou wishest for a virgin, there is 'Áyesha, the daughter of thy friend Abú Bakr, and if thou wishest for a woman, there is Sauda who believes in thee.' He solved the dilemma by saying,

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commended the new religion to her, but her fears were allayed by the revelation

> To those who have believed, whose offspring have followed them in the faith, will we again unite their offspring—Súratu't-Túr (lii) 21

This was an apt statement, and, as her son's salvation depended on her belief, it helped her so to do The story is told by Musnad and is quoted by Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p 93

[1] Quoted by Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 79.

Then ask them both for me. Two months after the death of Khadíja he was married to Sauda and betrothed to 'Áyesha, then a girl of six years of age, whom three years after he married. Still it may be said, how is it that in the later Súras these vivid descriptions of the carnal joys of Paradise are not given?[1] One reason sometimes assigned is that his followers in Madina, no longer being a persecuted people, did not need this encouragement, but there is also another explanation which has been given 'The more probable cause, assuredly, is satiety The pleasures which appeared so intense when out of reach, that Muhammad could think of no reward so fitting for the believer in Paradise,

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[1] In the Madína Súras, extending over a period of ten years after the Hijra, or flight from Mecca, women are only twice referred to as forming one of the joys of heaven and then as wives, not as concubines

> Therein shall they have wives of purity—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 23
>
> Therein they shall have wives of stainless purity—Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 60

Either closer contact with Jewish morality in Madína repressed the sense of the sensual Paradise, the representation of which was used at Mecca with so much force, or it was not necessary now to thus encourage the Muslims, by holding out to them those prospects of enjoyment in Paradise which they could on earth enjoy to the full.

palled as soon as they were enjoyed without restriction '[1]

In the second part of the Meccan period we have vivid descriptions of hell and its punishments The inhabitants of hell are constantly tortured, they are dragged by the scalp and flung into the fire where boiling water will be forced down their throats and garments of fire fitted on to them, they will be beaten with iron maces and each time they try to escape they will be dragged back again, with the words.

> How wretched shall be the people of the left hand!
> Amid scorching blasts and in scalding water,
> And in the shadow of a black smoke
> Not cool and horrid to behold—Súratu'l-Wáqi'a, (lvi) 41—3.

In the third period of the Meccan ministry the same fierce denunciations are carried on, showing that up to its close this was the attitude of the Prophet towards his opponents:

> They hasten forward in fear; their heads upraised in supplication, their looks riveted[1] and their hearts a blank Warn men, therefore, of the day when the punishment shall overtake them, and when the evil doers shall say, 'O our Lord! respite us a little while,'

[1] Osborn, *Islám under the Arabs*, p 36

> And thou shalt see the wicked on that day linked together in chains;
> Their garments of pitch, and fire shall enwrap their faces—Súratu Ibráhím (xiv) 44—50.

> Those who treat 'the Book'[1] and the message with which we have sent our apostles, as a lie, shall know the truth hereafter,
> When the collars shall be on their necks and the chains to drag them into hell, then in the fire shall they be burned—Súratu'l-Múmin (xl) 73—4

> As for those who have brought out evil, then recompense shall be evil of like degree, and shame shall cover them—no protector shall they have against God, as though their faces were covered with deep darkness of night These shall be inhabitants of the fire. therein shall they abide for ever—Súratu Yúnus (x) 28.

All this time Muhammad constantly and continuously reiterated the statement that he was sent as a warner, but the Quraish would not listen to his warning

> Say, I am the only plain spoken warner—Súratu'l Ḥijr (xv) 89

> They marvel that a warner from among themselves hath come. And the Infidels say, This is a sorcerer and a liar—Súratu Ṣád (xxxviii) 3.

[1] The Qur'án and books of preceding prophets.

A revelation of the Mighty, the Merciful that thou shouldest warn a people whose fathers were not warned—Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) 5.

Say, I only warn you of what hath been revealed to me—Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 46.

These Súras are all of the middle Meccan period when the Prophet was extremely anxious to win over the Quraish. There is, however, a similar expression in a rather late Madína Súra, Súratu'l-Fath (xlviii) 8:

We have sent thee to be a witness, a herald of good and a warner.

The warning is said to be for a special purpose, 'that ye may believe on God and on His Apostle,' a combination of the objects of belief found almost entirely in the later Súras. At Mecca Muhammad was more modest.

There are two famous Súras, Suratu'l-Falaq (cxiii) and Súratu'n-Nás (cxiv), which, if Meccan ones, though this is not quite clear,[1] show that

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[1] Noldeke says 'It is very difficult to fix the date of these two Súras and we cannot be sure that that they were delivered before the Hijra—Noldeke, *Geschichte des Qoráns*, p 85

There are, however, similar expressions in undoubtedly Meccan Súras

If an enticement from Satan entice thee, then take refuge in God—Súratu'l-Fussilat (xli) 36.

When thou readest the Qur'án, ask refuge with God from Satan'—Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 100.

the Prophet used popular incantations and was so far time-serving, or, at all events, was still governed by superstitious practices; or that he was desirous of showing that he had power over the evil influences which his enemies sought to bring to bear upon him. It is said that a Jew, named Lubaid, assisted by his daughters, bewitched Muhammad. Gabriel delivered him from the spell by reciting these two Súras:[1]

> Say, I betake me for refuge to the Lord of the daybreak,
> Against the mischief of his creation,
> And against the mischief of the night when it overtaketh me,
> And against the mischief of weird women,
> And against the mischief of the envier when he envieth—Súratu'l-Falaq (cxiii) 1—5.

> Say, I betake me for refuge to the Lord of men,
> The King of men,
> The God of men,
> Against the mischief of the stealthily withdrawing whisperer,

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These Súras are, therefore, most probably Meccan, belonging to a period when the Prophet had not yet cast off the superstitious practices of the Arabs Many Muslim commentators, however, say Labaid was a Jew at Madína and so place them after the Hijra. There is then no absolute certainty about their date

[1] *Tafsír-i-Husainí* on Súratu'l-Falaq (cxiii).

Who whispereth in men's breast
Against jinn and men—Súratu'n-Nás (cxiv) 1—6.

These Súras are called the al-Ma'údhatain (المعوذتين), or preservative chapters, and are engraved on amulets as charms against evil.

Still, the promised allurements of Paradise and all the threatened terrors of hell and all this alleged supernatural power over witchcraft failed to win over the Quraish, and the Prophet, being then unable to protect his poorer followers [1] and unwilling to run the risk of their perversion, recommended them to emigrate to Abyssinia, a country at that time in close commercial relations with Arabia. The emigrants were few in number, but it was an evidence to the Meccans that their faith was real and that exile was preferable to

[1] At this time Islám was accepted as their religion by slaves who had either been carried away from Christian lands, or had been born of Christian parents at Mecca. They saw in Muḥammad a liberator and so they believed in his teaching and some died as martyrs to it. Noldeke considers that verse ten of Súratu'l-'Alaq (xcvi) 'A slave of God when he prayeth,' refers to a slave convert; but the ordinary interpretation of it is 'A servant of God when he prayeth,' and it is said to refer to Muhammad himself, in connexion with the threat made by Abú Jahl (*ante*, p 15) that he would put his foot on the Prophet's neck when at prayer—Noldeke, *Geschichte des Qoráns*, p. 66; *Tafsír-i-Husainí*, vol. ii., p. 468; and also Baidawí, vol. ii., p 410.

possibly forced recantation. Some of the exiles joined the Christian Church in Abyssinia, for the antagonism of Islám to Christianity came at a much later period than this.[1] Had Muhammad not found a few years later a home at Madina, he too might have gone to Abyssinia and some form of Christian heresy might have taken the place of Islám.

In three months the emigrants returned, for now there seemed to them a prospect of peace with the Quraish. The Meccans had no desire to lose a large number of citizens and the patronage of the King of Abyssinia seemed likely to give political power to Muhammad's cause. On the other hand, Abyssinian influence might grow too strong even for him. Thus, there was a prospect of danger both to Meccans and to Muslims. If a compromise between the two

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[1] In Súratu'l-Ma'ida (v) 85, we read

> Of all men thou wilt certainly find the Jews, and those who join other gods with God, to be the most intense in hatred of those who believe; and thou shalt certainly find those to be nearest in affection to them who say, 'we are Christians'

This Súra, though a late one, is composite and this verse, evidently recorded in grateful recollection of the kindness shown to the exiles, must have been written after A.H 3, when the enmity to the Jews was marked and before A.H. 8, by which time both Jews and Christians were denounced.

parties could be arrived at, it would obviously be to their mutual advantage. Negotiations were opened and one of the leading men of Mecca was deputed to visit Muhammad in order to induce him to come to some terms and to make some compromise. He said : 'Thou knowest, my cousin, that thou occupiest a high rank in our tribe and that thou hast brought before us a grave matter by which thou hast divided our community Thou hast called us fools, hast blasphemed our gods, reviled our religion and charged our departed fathers with unbelief. Now, listen to me whilst I submit to thee proposals which, after reflecting upon, thou mayest deem acceptable.' Then riches and honour were offered to Muhammad. If only he would recognize the local deities, the Quraish would then also acknowledge Alláh to be a God and would worship him as one of their deities. It was a great temptation,[1] for Muhammad had sought the conversion of his fellow-citizens. Only forty or fifty had responded to his call and of them some were now exiles. The Quraish seemed as hard and as obstinate as ever. All was dark and gloomy, but here was a chance of reconciliation and of gaining the assent of the

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[1] See Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii., pp. 150—6.

opposing party to the claims of Alláh, though in a modified form. So the story goes that one day Muhammad came upon a group of the leading men of Mecca near the Ka'ba. He joined them and in a friendly manner began to recite the opening verses of Súratu'n-Najm (liii). It began with a strong assertion of his own position,

> By the Star when it setteth
> Your compatriot erreth not, nor is led astray;
> Neither speaketh he from mere impulse,
> The Qur'án is no other than a revelation revealed to him,
> One mighty in power taught it him 1—5.

Referring then to certain mysteries which had been revealed to him, he went on to speak of the Meccan idols

> Do you see al-Lát and al 'Uzzá
> And Manát the third idol besides. 19—20

And then came words meant to reconcile the Quraish, who were listening with deepened interest and who now, with much astonishment and pleasure, heard the words

> These are the exalted Females
> And verily their intercession is to be hoped for.[1]

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[1] Muslim historians and commentators either try to explain this as a mere magical effect produced by Satan on the ears of the audience, or, deny the truth of the

The closing words of the Súra, as Muhammad recited it, are

Prostrate yourself then to God and worship. 62.

With one accord they all did so. It was a remarkable scene. The Quraish were delighted and said, 'Now we know that it is the Lord alone that giveth life and taketh it away, that createth and supporteth. These our goddesses make intercession for us with Him, and as thou hast conceded unto them a position we are content to follow thee.' But Muhammad soon awoke to the fact that he had made a mistake and that he must at once retire from the false position he had taken up. He saw that the

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whole thing and call it an invention of the Zindiqs. We read in the *Raudatu'l-Ahbáb*, 'When the Súra "By the Star" came down, the Lord of the World went to the holy house of prayer and read that Súra in the assembly of the Quraish. In reading it he paused between the verses, to enable the people to take them in and remember them entirely. When he reached the noble verse, "Do you see al-Lát and al-'Uzzá and Manát the third besides," then Satan found it possible to cause the stupefied ears of the Infidels to hear these words, "These are the exalted females, and verily their intercession is to be hoped for" On hearing these words, the Infidels were exceedingly delighted.' See Koelle's *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p 281, and Wherry's *Commentary on the Qur'án*, vol. iii., p. 167, in which references are given to many commentaries.

people still worshipped idols and that his concession had done no practical good. Then, according to tradition, God consoled him by the revelation of words showing that former prophets had been likewise tempted of the devil:

> We have not sent an apostle or prophet before thee, among whose desires Satan injected not some wrong desire, but God shall bring to nought that which Satan had suggested—Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 51.[1]

When God had thus restored the confidence of Muḥammad, it is said that He sent him the true revelation concerning the idols and that this is the text as we now have it in the Qur'án

> Do you see al-Lát and al 'Uzzá
> And Manát the third idol besides,
> What! shall ye have male progeny and God female,
> This were indeed an unfair partition,
> These are mere names and your fathers named them such 19—23.

The Quraish were very angry and said, 'Muhammad hath repented of his favourable mention of the rank held by our goddesses before the Lord.

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[1] This is a Madína Sura and evidently refers back to the lapse at Mecca, and is a proof of its historical accuracy. Sale translates the words اذا تمنى by 'but when he read' not as Rodwell does 'among whose desires.' In the *Tafsír-i Husaini* they are translated

He hath changed the same and brought other words in their stead,' so they stirred up the people to persecute the faithful with still more vigour. However weak Muhammad may have shown himself in this matter, he now and for ever broke with idolatory and began to declare the punishment due to idolaters. So in a Súra of this period we have.

> Worship ye what ye carve
> When God hath created you and what ye make?
> Fain would they plot against him, but we brought them low—Súratu's-Sáffát (xxxvii) 93—4, 96.

Moses is called in as a witness of God's displeasure at idolatry and is represented as saying to the children of Israel:

> Now look at thy god to which thou hast continued so devoted. We will surely burn it and reduce it to ashes—Súratu Ṭá Há (xx) 97.

چون تلاوت کرد—'when he read,' and are explained by a reference to this event at Mecca A Persian translation by Shah Wali Ulláh has آررو بخاطر بست—'kept desire in his heart'; Baidáwí explains it thus. 'What he desired was perverted'—زور فی نفسه ما یهواه

Nadhír Ahmad translates the phrase by جب اسنے تمنا کی—'When he desired'

Ibn 'Abbás says it means قراءة الرسول او حدیث النبی—'the reading of an apostle or the saying of a prophet.' There is good authority for this rendering.

Soon after his fall, Muḥammad received a revelation warning him against ever approaching near to such a compromise again:

> Verily, they had well nigh beguiled thee from what we revealed to thee and caused thee to invent some other thing in our name,
>
> Had we not settled thee, thou hadst well nigh inclined to them a little[1]—Súratu Baní Isrá'íl (xvii) 75—6.

The intercession of idols is treated of and described as a thing absurd:

> What think ye of the gods whom ye invoke besides God Show me what part of the earth they have created? Had they a share in the creation of the heavens? Have we given them a book in which they can find proofs? Nay, the wicked promise one another only deceits—Súratu'l-Fátir (xxxv) 38.

In this way were the Meccans admonished of the folly of idolatry. The circumstance which led to all these events was also used by the

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[1] Some authorities, however, hold that this refers to a temptation placed before the Prophet by the people of Ṭá'if when, in answer to his appeal to them, they required certain concessions, such as freedom from the legal alms and the stated times of prayer and permission to retain for a time their idol al-Lát, or it may refer to the time when Tá'if was besieged, and if so the verses would belong to the eighth or ninth year of the Hijra and so be part of a Madína Súra. (See Sale's

Prophet to justify a much stricter line of conduct in the future

Thus Muhammad quickly rose from his fall and re established his position with his followers, but with the people at large it was very different They could not accept the theory of Satanic influence described in the Qur an as the cause of his fall nor place any faith in a revelation so open to it If the Qur an were really God s message surely this shifting about and this cancelling of verses were not divine So they

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Preliminary Discourse Wherry s ed p 39) Zamakhshari is quoted as favouring this view (Rodwell p 198), and Palmer says that this is the view of most commentators Waqidi s account of the negotiations agrees with this opinion Another view stated in the *Tafsir i Husaini* is that it refers to the time when the Quraish came and said We will not allow thee to kiss the black stone until thou touchest our idols if only with the tip of the finger (i e to show respect) His Excellency had a great desire to make the circumambulation of the Ka ba and thought deeply in his heart what would happen should I do this

قریش بآنحضرت گفتند که نمیگذاریم ترا که استلام حجر کنی تا وقتیکه مس کنی بتان ما را و اگرچه بسر انگشت باشد آنحضرت غایت شوق که بطواف حرم داشت در خاطر مبارک خطور کرد چه شود اگرچه مس کنم

Muir however considers the verse to refer to the great lapse at Mecca, which has been described

laughed to scorn all his efforts to make them give up their idol worship. To the charge of changing a verse, Muhammad replied by another revelation on which the very convenient Muslim doctrine of abrogation is founded [1]

> When we change one verse for another, and God knoweth best what he revealeth they say: 'Thou art only a fabricator!' Nay! but most of them have no knowledge. Say, the Holy Spirit hath brought it down with truth from thy Lord. That he may stablish those who have believed, and as guidance and glad tidings to the Muslims.
>
> We also know that they say, 'surely a certain person teacheth him.' But the tongue of him [2] at whom they hint is foreign while thus (Qur'án) is in the plain [3] Arabic—Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 103–5.

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[1] 'To withdraw a revelation and substitute another for it was, he asserted, well within the power of God. Doubtless it was, but so obviously within the power of man that it is to us astounding how so compromising a procedure can have been permitted to be introduced into the system by friends and foes' Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p 139

[2] Baidáwí says that some refer this to Salmán, the Persian, but he gives other names also

[3] 'The meaning is that the style of the Qur'án is very eloquent. A foreigner does not know such a style and so much less can he speak it'—Nadhír Ahmad

But the Quraish still mocked and said: 'Ah! this is he whom God hath sent as an apostle! Verily he had nearly seduced us from our gods, unless we had patiently persevered therein.' Indeed if it had not been for the powerful protection of Abú Ṭálib, Muhammad would have been in great danger now, but that generous-hearted uncle, though not always pleased with the actions of his nephew,[1] stood manfully by him and on one occasion, when there had been some suspicion of foul play, said: 'By the Lord, had ye killed him, there had not remained one alive among you.'

Muhammad's position at Mecca, at this time, may be thus summed up The Quraish were more hostile than ever to him, his followers were disheartened, the people generally were scornful or indifferent, though he himself was personally safe from danger, owing to the great influence of his uncle. To meet these adverse

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[1] 'He said, "what will the Arabs say of me?
That my own nephew has perverted me from my religion"
Muhammad said "O Uncle confess the faith to me,
That I may strive with God for thee"
He said, "Nay it will be published by them that hear,
A secret known to more than two is known to everyone"' Jalálu'd-din, *Mathnavi.*

circumstances Muhammad adopted two lines of argument In the first place he produced a whole series of revelations showing that former prophets had been treated just as he now was and that this adverse treatment was therefore a clear proof of his divine mission

> Already have we sent apostles before thee among the sects of the ancients
> But never came apostles to them whom they did not deride
> In like manner will we put it into the hearts of the sinners (of Mecca) to do the same
> They will not believe on him—Suratu l Hijr (xv) 10—13

The other argument was the continued and reiterated assertions of his divine call and of the truth of the revelations he gave forth This period is also notable for the strong protest Muhammad makes against all who opposed his claims

The following verses show the way in which the treatment of previous prophets is used to prove his own claim to be a Prophet

> The people of Noah and Ad and Pharaoh the impaler treated their prophets as impostors Suratu Sad (xxxviii) 11

In Suratu l Anbiya (xxi) which though verse eight is said to belong to Madina was delivered in the middle Meccan period the Meccans

are warned of the great danger in which their city lies by a reference to God s treatment of other places

> How many a guilty city have we broken down, and raised up after it other peoples 11

Their gods are also challenged

> Have they taken gods from the earth who can quicl en the dead ? 21
>
> Have they taken other gods beside Him ? Say, bring forth your proofs (that they are gods) This is the warning of those who are with me and the warning of those who were before me 24

Then follow references to God s care of preceding Patriarchs and Prophets of old even down to Zacharias God s favour to the Virgin Mary is referred to in a verse which teaches the immaculate and miraculous conception of Jesus Christ [1] Thus as all these men of old were the

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[1] والّتى أحصنت فرجها فنفخنا فيها من روحنا وجعلناها
وابنها آية للعالمين

And her who kept her maidenhood and into whom we breathed of our spirit and made her and her son a sign to all creatures—Suratu l Anbiyá (xxi) v 91

Nadhír Ahmad in his Urdu translation explains the words we breathed of our spirit to mean that she conceived without a husband and interprets the 'sign as that of God s perfect power

peculiar favourites of heaven, so now he, the greatest of the Prophets, was the special recipient of God's grace. As they were treated with scorn, so was he.

In Súratu Maryam (xix), a Súra of the same period, we read of Mary :

When she went apart from her family eastward, and took a veil to shroud herself from them : and we sent our spirit to her and he took before her the form of a perfect man,

She said, 'I fly for refuge from thee to the God of Mercy, if thou fearest him.

He said : 'I am only a messenger of thy Lord to bestow on thee a holy son ' 17—19

Some commentators translate v 18 thus.

I fly for refuge from thee to the God of Mercy. If then fearest him, *begone from me*

These words in italics are added and seem necessary to complete the sense.

Baidáwí says غلاماً زكيا 'holy son' many mean 'pure from sins'—طاهرا من الذنوب.

In these verses, the spirit is said to take the form of a man. From Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 9 it appears that an angel if sent would take a human form, and so it is believed that it was Gabriel who was here sent to Mary

A late Meccan Súra speaks of the child thus born as perfect

Yet when God had given them a perfect child they joined partners with Him in return for what He had given them—Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 190.

In the Súratu'l-Qamar (liv), stories of the prophets are repeated and an account of the opposition they met with is given. The general position is stated in :

> They have treated the prophets as impostors and follow their own lusts. 8.

They called Noah an impostor and rejected him ; the people of Lot treated his warning as a lie. To the people of Pharaoh came the threatening, but they too treated miracles as impostures. Then turning to the people of Mecca, Muhammad says

> Are your infidels, O Meccans, better than these? Is there an exemption for you in the sacred Books. 43.
>
> Taste ye the touch of hell. 48.

In the Súratu'sh-Shu'ará (xxvi) it is shown how Moses, Noah, Lot, and other prophets were

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The immaculate conception is again referred to in an early Madína Súra thus.

> Verily Jesus is as Adam in the sight of God, He created him of dust He then said to him 'Be' and he was—Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 52.

The Arabic is إِنَّ مَثَلَ عِيسَى عِنْدَ اللّٰهِ كَمَثَلِ آدَمَ i.e., neither Adam nor Christ had a human father. Baidáwí comments on it thus, — انّ حالة الغريب كشأن آدم 'His nature (or rank) was extraordinary, like that of Adam.'

treated with scorn and accused of imposture. These stories are related at great length and the conclusion drawn is that the opposition of the Meccans to Muhammad is, judging from the past, just what a true prophet might expect, but this did not justify the conduct of the Meccans who are sternly rebuked in the words:

> Shall I declare unto you upon whom the devils descend. They descend upon every lying and wicked person. 221.

But all those who thus scoff and mock should take warning by the punishment which came to the opponents of the prophets in former ages, for a time will come when the infidels shall.

> Know the time when they shall not be able to keep the fire of hell from their faces, or from their backs, neither shall they be helped!
> But it shall come on them suddenly and shall confound them, and they shall not be able to put it back, neither shall they be respited.
> Other apostles have been scoffed at before thee, but that doom at which they mocked encompassed the scoffers—Suratu'l-Anbiya' (xxi) 40—3.

The Suratu's-Sáffát (xxxvii) seems to belong to a time when the opposition was not quite so active, a time when stolid indifference took the place of actual antagonism. It shows how the Meccan infidels followed in the steps of those

who, in former ages, had rejected Noah, Moses, Aaron, Elias, Lot and Jonah, whose stories are told at some length. The Meccans excused themselves by saying:

> Had we a revelation transmitted to us from those of old.
> We had surely been God's servants. 168—9.

The Prophet is then told to turn aside from them for a time and behold, for their doom is certain. 179—80.

A late Meccan Súra is in the same strain and the same retribution is described, and how even no place of repentance will be found:

> When their apostles had come to them with the tokens of their mission, they exalted in what they possessed of knowledge: but that retribution at which they scoffed, encompassed them.
> And when they beheld our vengeance they said, 'We believe in God alone, and we disbelieve in the deities we once associated with Him.'
> But their faith, after they had witnessed our vengeance, profited them not. Such the procedure of God with regard to His servants who flourished of old. And then the unbelievers perished—Súratu'l-Múmin (xl) 83—5.[1]

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[1] In speaking of other prophets Muḥammad rarely refers to their prophetic gifts, but rather represents them as warning against idolatry and wickedness.

He also points out how former prophets were aided in spite of all opposition:

> Our word came of old to our own servants the apostles.
>
> That they should surely be succoured.
>
> And that our armies should procure the victory for them—Súratu'ṣ-Ṣáffát (xxxvii) 171—3.

So in like manner he would succeed.

Another striking Súra of the middle period is the Súratu Ṣád (xxxviii), the first ten verses of which were revealed on one of the occasions when the Quraish begged Abu Tálib to withdraw his protection from Muhammad which he absolutely declined to do This they did once about the year A D 615 Other traditions refer it to a time when Abú Tálib was on his deathbed, in the year A D. 620. The earlier date is the more probable one In any case the Quraish are warned by the fate of the generations of scorners who have passed away, and are reproved in a passage of much force and vigour.

> By the Qur'an full of warning! In sooth the infidels are absorbed in pride, in contention with thee
>
> How many generations have we destroyed before them! And they cried for mercy but no time was it of escape!
>
> And they marvel that a warner from among themselves hath come to them; and the infidels say, 'This is a sorcerer, a liar;

> Maketh he the gods to be but one God? A strange thing forsooth is this!'
> And their chiefs took themselves off 'Go,' said they, 'and cleave steadfastly to your gods Ye see the thing aimed at
> We heard not of this in the previous creed [1] It is but an imposture,'
> 'To him alone of us all hath a book of warning been sent down? Yes! they are in doubt as to my warnings for they have not yet tasted of my vengeance Suratu Sád (xxxviii) 1—7

Another feature of the revelation of this, the middle Meccan, period is the constant assertion

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[1] ما سمعنا بهذا فى الملّة الآخرة

Muhammad puts this speech into the mouth of polytheists and thus ironically implies that Christianity teaches a plurality of gods

In the *Tafsír i Husaini* the reference is explained to be to the Christian religion which was the latest and which it is erroneously said accepted the doctrine of the Trinity only but not that of the Unity

ملت عیسی که آخرین ملت است چه ایشان بتثلیث قائل اند نه بتوحید

Baidáwí says it refers to the religion of their ancestors, or to the Christian religion the last of the religions

Ibn Abbás says we have not heard from Jews or Christians that God is one —

لم نسمع من اليهود و النصارى ان الاله واحد

Mujáhid says it refers to the religion of the Quraish—*Khalásatu t-Tafásír*, vol 4, p 44

of the inspiration of the Qur'án. It is called the blessed Book, the luminous Book, the honourable Qur'án. It is the Book from God, the best of all recitals He hath sent, a missive from on high:

> A blessed book have we sent down to thee, that men may meditate its verses, and that those endued with understanding may bear it in mind—Suratu Sád (xxxviii) 28.

Muhammad is bidden not to grieve at the hardness of heart of his hearers and is assured that his message is divine. These are the signs of the lucid Book:

> Haply thou wearest thyself away with grief because they will not believe
>
> Were it our will we could send down to them a sign from Heaven, before which they would humbly bow.
>
> But from each fresh warning that cometh to them from the God of mercy they have only turned aside,
>
> And treated it as a lie—Súratu sh Shu'ará' (xxvi) 2—5.

In the one hundred and ninety-second and following verses of this Súra there is a very strong assertion of the fact that Gabriel brought the Book down from heaven but, as there is a reference to the Jews, this passage is considered by Jalálu'd-dín as-Syúti to belong to the Madina

period and so I do not quote it here In other parts of this Súra, five of the older prophets are represented as saying Fear God and obey me and the conclusion drawn is that in like manner the Quraish should obey Muhammad, or suffer for their disobedience and if they disobeyed him then he could in the name of God say

> I will not be answerable for your doings 216

The fragmentary nature of the revelations was useful as it enabled the Prophet to meet with a supposed divine opinion the varying events of each day but it needed some authority to justify it This is found in the verse

> And when we have parcelled out the Qur án into sections that thou mightest recite it unto men by slow degrees and we have sent it down piecemeal[1]—Suratu Bani Isra íl (xvi) 107

In Suratu t Tur (lii) the charge of forgery is met and the supernatural nature of the Qur an is asserted

> Will they say He hath forged it himself? Nay rather is it they that believe not
>
> Let them produce a discourse like it if they speak the truth 33—4

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[1] Baidáwí explains piecemeal as على حسب الحوادث — according to circumstances

Have they such a knowledge of the secret things that they can write them down ? 41

Verily there is a punishment for the evil doers 47

Suratu l Haqqah (lxix) which belongs to the first Meccan period contains one of the strong est denials of forgery to be found in the Qur an

It needs not that I swear by what ye see and by what ye see not

This verily is the word of an Apostle worthy of all honour

And that it is not the word of a poet [1]

How little do ye believe !

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[1] In the Suratu sh Shu ara (xx i) 225 called The Poets Muhammal aid that the p ets who vrote agan st him were mad

It s the poets whom the err ng f ll w

Seest thou not that they wa der ver ft of c ses 224—5

On the other hanl Muhammad employed p ets to defend him and his rel g on Such p et ar not to be blamed They are acco d ng o Baid w referred to as those

Who defend them elves when unj tly t eated and they who treat them unjustly shall I now here after with what treatm nt they shall be treated 228

The latter clause according to Mu alim refers to the opponents of the Prophet

ںہ اشارہ ھی رسول اللہ کی ھجو کرنے والوں کی طرف

Khalásatu t-Tafásir vol iii p 388

Neither is it the word of a soothsayer—
How little do ye receive warning!
It is a missive from the Lord of the worlds.
But if Muhammad had fabricated concerning us any sayings,
We had surely seized him by the right hand and had cut through the vein of his neck,
Nor would we have withheld any of you from him. 38—47.

In other words, the restraining influence, we (God) had upon you (the Quraish), preventing you from doing harm to the Prophet, would have been withheld So anxious was Muhammad, at this period, to combat the idea that he was a mere poet and that the Qur'án was the product of his poetic genius, that in the Súra just quoted he makes God declare that it is not so. This is the most impassioned assertion of the divinity of the Qur'án to be found in that book The very force and earnestness of it seem to betray doubt in the mind of Muhammad. It does not show forth the confident assurance of a man who fully believed in what he said. The calm dignity of a prophet of God is lacking here. A few other out of the many other passages are

It needs not that I swear by the stars of retrograde motion,
Which move swiftly and hide themselves away,
And by the night when it cometh darkening up,

And by the dawn when it brighteneth,
That this is the word of an illustrious messenger,
Endued with power, having influence with our
Lord of the throne,
Obeyed there by angels, faithful to his trust,
And your compatriot is not one possessed by
jinn—Súratu't-Takwír. (lxxxi) 15—22.

The Qur'án is no other than a revelation revealed
to him,
One terrible in power taught it him[1]—Súratu'n
Najm (liii) 5.

It needs not that I swear by the setting of the stars,
And it is a great oath, if ye know it,
That this is the honourable Qur'an,
Written on the preserved table
Let none touch it but the purified—Súratu'-l-
Wáqi'a (lvi) 74—8.

We ourselves have sent down to thee the Qur'án
as a missive from on high—Súratu'd-Dahr
(lxxvi) 23

By the luminous Book!
We have made it an Arabic Qur'án that ye may
understand,
And it is a transcript of the archetypal Book[2]
kept by us.

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[1] The commentators say that this is Gabriel

[2] أمّ الكتاب mother of the Book Husain says.
در اصل همه کتب سماوی یعنی در لوح محفوظ که ایمن
است از تغیر
'The original of all the heavenly books is kept safe

It is lofty, filled with wisdom—Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii) 1—3.

And the infidels say, 'This Qur'án is a mere fraud of his own devising, and others have helped him with it, who had come hither by outrage and lie.'

And they say 'Tales of the Ancients that he hath put in writing! and they were dictated to him morning and evening'

Say. 'He hath sent it down who knoweth the secrets of the Heavens and of the Earth.' 5—7.

Then said the Apostle, 'O my Lord! truly my people have esteemed this Qur'án to be vain babbling'—Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 32.

Will they say, he has forged it? Nay it is the truth from the Lord that thou mayest warn a people to whom no warner hath come before thee, that haply they may be guided—Súratu's-Sajdah (xxxii) 2

Say, the Holy Spirit hath brought it down
With truth from thy Lord—Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 104

Súratu'z-Zumar (xxxix) was probably revealed about the time of the first flight to Abyssinia. It emphasises the statement that the Qur'án came

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from change in the preserved table'—Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí, vol. ii, p 300.

Baidawí calls it امل الكتب السماوية—'the original of the heavenly books.'

direct from God, and records the terrifying effect of such a mode of revelation:

> We have sent down to thee this book with the truth, serve thou God then. 2.
>
> The best of recitals hath God sent down, a book in unison with itself, and containing teaching by iteration.[1] The very skins of those who fear the Lord do creep at it 24

The above illustrations of the lines of defence adopted by Muhammad for himself, based on

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[1] The expression مَثَانِی (literally by twos, in pairs,) is translated by Sale as 'containing repeated (admonition)' by Palgrave and by Palmer as 'repeating,' by Rodwell as in the text. See Suratu'l-Ḥijr (xv) 87, and the note thereon in Rodwell's Qur'an, p 126. An Urdu translation gives ایك مدعا کئی کئی طرح تقریر کیا—'a claimant narrates in diverse ways' The same word is used in Súratu'l-Ḥijr (xv) 87, 'we have already given thee the seven verses of repetition' (مثانی) This refers to the seven verses of Súratu'l-Fátiḥa which are to be repeated frequently

On the whole passage in the text كِتَابًا مُتَشَابِهًا مَثَانِیَ the commentator Ḥusain remarks in Persian

کتابی مانند یکدیگر یعنی قرآن که بعضی ازان مشابه بعضی ست در اعجاز یا در جودت لفظ و صحت معنی یا برخی ازان مصدق برخی دیگر ست و دران تناقض و اختلاف نیست

مَثَانِیَ = دو باره و دو توکرده یعنی مشتمل است بر زوجات

the alleged similarity of the treatment accorded to other prophets and the constant iteration of the claims of the Qur'án to be a divine revelation,

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چون امر و نہی و وعد و وعید و ذکر و فکر و رحمت و عذاب و بہشت و دوزخ و مومن و کافر

which runs as follows The Qur'án, some of which resembles other parts in miracles, or in the suitableness of its words and sound meaning, or one part of it verifies some other part, and there is no disagreement and difference in it Matháni is said to mean—two times or twofold, i e , the Qur'án contains pairs (of expressions) such as command and prohibition, promise and threat, speech and thought, mercy and anger, heaven and hell, believer and infidel—*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. ii , p 262

Nadhir Aḥmad in his Urdu translation has, ایک ھی بات سمجھانے کیلئے بار بار دوھرائی گئی ھین—' In order to make it understood each matter is repeated again and again '

In a note he seems to refer it to the descent of the Qur'án at various times and considers this to be a great proof of its divine nature

Rabbi Geiger considers that the perplexity about the word arises from the fact that it is considered an Arabic one and has not been traced back to its source מִשְׁנָה. The Jewish law was divided into two parts, the written and the oral teaching The latter act was called Mishnah and so in time the whole collection of oral teaching, or tradition, was called by the same name. Then an etymological error crept in and Mishnah was derived from a word meaning ' to repeat,' and so was applied to the act of the repetition of the written teaching and not to the collected body of tradition The Arabian Jews made the

are but a few of the many utterances on this subject, and the general impression left upon the mind of the reader is that they are the outward expressions of a man whose own mind was not at ease and who sought by the very frequency and force of his assertions not only to silence his adversaries, but also to give confidence to his own mind and to confirm the faith of his followers

Early in his Meccan career the Prophet challenged the production of a book like the Qur'án.

> Will they say 'He hath forged it himself? Nay, rather it is that they believe not
>
> Let them produce a discourse like it, if they speak the truth—Súratu't-Túr (lii) 34—5.

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same mistake and so we get mathání Then Muhammad, if he used the word correctly, put the Qur'an in the place of the whole Jewish teaching, the Mishnah, and did not refer to repetition at all So, at least, one Arabic commentator admits for, according to Rabbi Geiger, Ṭá'ús said, 'the whole Qur'an is mathani'—

و قال الطاوس القران كله مثانى

See Geiger, *Judaism and Islám* (S P C K, Madras), p. 43

The fear caused to men by the revelation is not surprising, when it is believed that in heaven the effect of it (وحى) is that nature is convulsed, that angels become senseless, and that Gabriel is the first one to return to consciousness. For further details, see *Khalásatu-t-Tafásír*, vol. iv., p. 75.

Súratu Bani Isrá'íl [1] (xvii), one of the latest of the second period of the Meccan Súras, continues the challenge :

> Say, verily, were men and jinn assembled to produce the like of this Qur'án, they could not produce its like, though the one should help the other. 90.

A little later on we find .

> If they shall say, 'The Qur'án is his own device,' say · then bring ten Súras like it of your own devising, call whom ye can to your aid beside God—Súratu Húd (xi) 16.

So convincing was this argument considered to be that we find it used also at Madína :

> If ye be in doubt as to that which we have sent down to our servant, then produce a Súra like it—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 21.

This was a dangerous thing to attempt to do. Nadhír ibn Háritha accepted the challenge to produce anything as good and either versified, or put into rhyme the tales of the Persian Kings, which Firdausi, some four hundred years later, rendered immortal These Súras he read out at meetings, similar to those in which Muhammad

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[1] This Súra is a composite one ; vv. 75—82 must belong to Madína.

published the Qur'án. Then in a late Meccan Súra this revelation came :

> A man there is who buyeth an idle tale, that in his lack of knowledge he may mislead others from the way of God and turn it to scorn. For such is prepared a shameful punishment —Súratu Luqmán (xxxi) 5.

Nadhír was taken prisoner at the battle of Badr. Ransom was refused and he was put to death [1]

Muhammadans now assert that this challenge has never been taken up and that no Arab then nor since has produced anything equal to it, but the claim is overstated, for the challenge was not to produce something equal to the Qur'án in rhetoric or poetry, but with regard to the subject matter, the unity of God, future retribution, and so on Now, from the nature of the case the Quraish could not do this. They could not produce a book, showing as the Qur'án did the unity of God, for as pagans they did not believe in such a dogma Had they tried to produce a book on these lines it would only have been a copy of his work, and copies fall short of the original, in fact, Muhammad had already occupied the ground As no one could repro-

[1] Baidáwí, vol ii, p 112. Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, pp. 135, 266.

duce the individuality of Muhammad, stamped upon his book, he could safely challenge any one to produce its like. If the superiority claimed is in the form and expression, then Baron de Slane's remark seems to the point. He says that, if we now examine the Qur'án by the rules of rhetoric and criticism accepted in Muslim Colleges, no doubt the Qur'án is a perfect model for the principles of rhetoric are drawn from it Palmer says: 'That the best of Arab writers has never succeeded in producing anything equal in merit to the Qur'án itself is not surprising. They have agreed beforehand that it is unapproachable, and they have adopted its style as the perfect standard: any deviation from it therefore must of necessity be a defect The acknowledged claims of the Qur'án to be the direct utterance of the divinity have made it impossible for any Muslim to criticize the work, and it became, on the contrary, the standard by which other literary compositions had to be judged. Grammarians, lexicographers, and rhetoricians started with the presumption that the Qur'án could not be wrong, and other works therefore only approached excellence in proportion as they, more or less, successfully imitated its style.' [1]

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[1] *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vi., pp. 57—71.

There is, however, by no means a consensus of Muslim opinion as to wherein this alleged superiority exists. Some say it lies in its eloquence, or in its subject-matter, or in the harmony of its parts (kitában mutashábihá)[1] The sect of the Mu'tazilas hold that if God allowed it men could produce a Súra equal to it in eloquence and arrangement.[2]

As the i'jáz, or miraculous nature of the Qur'án, is not dependent on the much disputed question of its eternal nature, it follows that all classes and sects of muslims accept as a dogmatic truth the miracle of the Qur'án

Suratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii), a late Meccan one, shows that the charge of forgery was kept up by the Meccans to the last days of the Prophet's residence there Thus,

> Will they say he hath forged a lie of God? If God pleased, He could then seal up thy very heart 23.[3]

It was at this period of the Prophet's career that a connexion sprang up between Muhammad

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[1] Muir, *Beacon of Truth*, p 26.

[2] Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, p. 39 and Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 44

[3] The interpretation of this verse is not easy. It probably means God could, if thou didst such a thing,

and the followers of the Jewish religion. During the Meccan period it seems clear that he looked upon both Christianity and Judaism as co-ordinate religions, the followers of which would in them find salvation, and even later on in Madína he could say :

> Verily, they who believe (Muslims), and the Jews and the Sabeites and the Christians,—whosoever of them believeth in God and in the Last Day and doeth what is right, on them shall come no fear, neither shall they be put to grief—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 59.

In one of the latest Meccan Súras, he even

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take away thy prophetic mission, or if the accusation is false seal up thy heart, that is, strengthen it to bear this unmerited calumny Ḥusain explains 'seal up thy heart', يختم على قلبك as follows.

مهر نهد در دل تو اگر افترا کنی یا مهر نهد در دل تو بصبر و شکیبائی تا از آزار و جفای ایشان متضرر نشوی

'He will seal up thy heart, if thou inventest lies, or will seal thy heart with patience and long-suffering that thou mayest receive no injury from their wrath and anger'—*Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí*, vol ii, p. 295

'He can withhold from thee, the Qur'án and wahí (inspiration), or give thee patience that their troubling does not distress thee'—Baidawí, vol ii., p 230.

Nadhír Ahmad explains the sealing of the heart to mean that the Prophet could not do such a thing.

says that the Jews were very glad when they heard of his revelations:

> They[1] to whom we have given the Book rejoice in what hath been sent down to thee—
> Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 36.

But although there was during the Meccan period an apparent friendliness with the Jews, yet Muhammad even then had begun to hint at the subordinate nature of Judaism, a point in his teaching more fully worked out in Madína. Still, in two Súras of the middle Meccan period the absolute nature of the claims of Islam are asserted

> Truly this, your religion, is the one religion—
> Súratu'l-Múminún (xxiii) 54
>
> Of a truth this, your religion, is the one religion and I am your Lord, therefore serve me—
> Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 92.

The references to Old Testament history are now many and varied It is said that the object of the Qur'án is not only to attest its own divine origin, but also to confirm what had gone before.

> Before the Qur'án was the book of Moses, a rule and a mercy, and this book confirmeth it (i e, the Pentateuch) in the Arabic tongue—
> Súratu'l-Ahqáf (xlvi) 11.

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[1] That is the Jews, who, at this period of Muhammad's prophetic functions, must have been highly gratified at the strong leaning towards, and respect for, their scriptures

It is alleged that the Jews with whom Muhammad at Mecca was friendly said to him that God was often called the Merciful (ar-Rahmán) in the Pentateuch, and that they noticed he did not use the term. Then the verse came ;

> Call upon God (Alláh), and call on the Merciful (ar-Rahmán), by whichsoever ye will invoke Him. He hath most excellent names.—Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 110.

The title ar-Rahmán was dropped in the later Súras,[1] evidently from the fear lest Alláh and ar-Rahmán should be supposed to be two distinct Gods, a danger against which they were warned in the verse.

> For God hath said, 'take not to yourselves two gods for He is one God'—Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 53.

The Quraish also objected to the term and according to the Qur'án said,

> Who is the God of Mercy (ar-Raḥmán) shall we

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and histories, which is shown in the later Meccan Súras—Rodwell, *Qur'án*, p 427

Baidáwí is more definite He says that the passage refers to the Jews and Christians who became Muslims. They were 'Abdu'lláh ibn as-Salam, Najáshi and others, eighty men in all, of whom forty were from Najrán, eight from Yemen and thirty-two from Abyssinia They were glad with what they found in accordance with their own book, vol i., p 483

[1] The use of the term ar-Rahmán is, therefore, one of the internal evidences of the date of a Súrá

> bow down to what thou biddest—Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 61.

When the Quraish said, 'Shall we abandon our gods for a crazed poet?' the answer is: 'Nay! he cometh with truth and confirmeth the sent ones of old,' that is, according to the commentators, the prophets who preceded him:

> To the children of Israel gave we of old the Book, and the gift of prophecy. . .
>
> Afterward we set thee over our divine Law: follow it then and follow not the wishes of those who have no knowledge—Súratu'l-Játhiya (xlv) 15–17.

There are many such expressions, showing that Muhammad now gained some general knowledge of the ancient history of the Jews There is no evidence that he ever had the Bible before him.[1] Indeed the narratives he gives are not in

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[1] There can be no doubt that Muhammad did not himself read any Jewish or Christian books Hence the Old Testament traditions in the Qur'an resemble more the embellished Haggada tales than they do the original, while the New Testament traditions are quite legendary and are similar to the reports of the Apocryphal Gospels. (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p 6) The term النّبيّ الأُمّي [Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 156, 158], 'the illiterate Prophet' bears on this point In Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 73 also we read وَمِنْهُمْ أُمِّيُّونَ 'and amongst them (Jews) are illiterates,' that is, those who are unacquainted

accordance with Biblical statements, but do conform to Jewish legend and Rabbinical fable. It seems clear that he had some Jewish acquaintances from whom he gathered the material, afterwards worked up into the form in which it now appears in the Qur'án. 'The mixture of truth and fiction,' says Muir, 'of graphic imagery and of childish inanity, the repetition over and over again of the same tale in stereotyped expression, and the constant elaborate and ill-concealed effort to draw an analogy between

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with the Book (Pentateuch), and so the term clearly refers to those who did not know the Scriptures So, with reference to Muhammad, the term الأمّي simply means that he had no previous acquaintance with the Bible and not as Muslims say that, being an ignorant man, he had not the learning required to compose such a book as the Qur'án, which must therefore, be the words of God See *Faith of Islám* (ed 3rd), p 16 It does not touch the question of his power to read, or show that he was in the general sense of the term an ignorant man (Noldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p 11) See also an interesting note in Geiger's *Judaism and Islám*, p 20

The only text from the Old Testament quoted in the Qur'án is

Since the Law was given, have we written in the Psalms that, 'My servants, the righteous, shall inherit the earth'—Súratu'l Anbiyá' (xxi) 105.

This is taken from Psalm xxxvii 24—'The righteous shall inherit the land.'

himself and the former prophets, by putting the speech of his own day into their lips and those of their pretended opposers, fatigue and nauseate the patient reader of the Qur'án '[1]

The point, however, to be noticed is that all this information is produced as evidence of direct inspiration. Thus

> I had no knowledge of what passed among the celestial chiefs (angels) when they disputed: verily it hath been *revealed* to me only because I was a public preacher—Súratu-Sád (xxxviii) 70

This story of the creation of man which follows was probably obtained from the Jews, but the knowledge of it is adduced as a proof of his divine apostleship. We also read of the history of Joseph that it came by inspiration of God.

> In revealing to thee the Qur'án, one of the most beautiful of narratives will we relate unto thee—Súratu Yúsuf (xii) 3

And then follows the story of Joseph, as told in Jewish legends, but a divine origin is claimed for this account of it:

> This is one of the secret histories which we reveal unto thee—Súratu Yúsuf (xii) 103.

The people of Mecca would not, however, believe

[1] Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii, p. 185.

in the supernatural source of these matters and said :

> Surely, a certain person teacheth him—Suratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 105.

To this accusation the Prophet in the same verse replies that the tongue of him at whom they hint is foreign[1] and the Qur'án is Arabic ; to which the retort was easy, that he supplied the material and that Muhammad worked it up in an Arabic form Again and again Muhammad had to rebut statements such as this :

> The Qur'án is a mere fraud of his own devising and others have helped him with it—Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 5.

The Quraish stood firm in their convictions and persisted in calling all this Jewish history, and so the next verse reads :

> Tales of the Ancients that he hath put in writing and they were dictated to him morning and evening. 6

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[1] أعجمى which Husain says means 'without eloquence' 'Now,' he adds, 'the speech of the Prophet was eloquent as to matter and style, (در فصاحت و بلاغت), so how could he have learned the Qur'án from such a man?'

Ibn 'Abbás says that, أعجمى means a Hebrew. There is a very full note on this verse by Wherry, *Commentary on the Qur'án*, vol. iii., p 45.

The 111, 119—20, 125 verses are clearly Madína ones, and so Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) is a composite one.

The Quraish now adopted another course. They cut off the family of Muhammad from all social intercourse with the rest of the people, or, in modern language boycotted it, and for a while Muhammad and his kinsmen were confined to an isolated quarter of the city At length, however, some of the Quraish began to relent, but just at this time Muhammad lost by death Abú Tálib, his protector, and five weeks later Khadíja his wise and loving wife This brought matters to a crisis The Prophet, saddened lonely and well nigh hopeless, thought he would try whether the people of Tá'if, a city about seventy miles east of Mecca, would receive the man whom Mecca rejected Accompanied by the faithful Zaid, Muhammad entered the city, waited on the chief men and explained his mission, but they would neither receive him nor accept his teaching After ten days, he was stoned and so, wounded and weary, he had to flee away from the city. About half way on the return journey he halted in the valley of Nakhla Excited by all he had gone through, saddened at the rejection of his message by men, he saw, in imagination, crowds of Jinn (Genii) embracing the faith.

Then Súratu'l-Jinn (lxxii) was revealed: [1]

Say: it hath been revealed to me that a company

[1] Rodwell, *Qur'án*, p. 157, note 3. For a good account

of Jinn listened, and said, 'Verily, we have heard a marvellous discourse' (Qur'án);
It guideth to the truth wherefore we believed in it. 1, 2.
When the servant of God stood up to call upon Him, the Jinn almost jostled him by their crowds. 19.

This eager acceptance by the Jinn of his message was a very great consolation to the Prophet, after the contemptuous indifference shown to him and to it by men. This event is referred to in one of the latest Meccan Súras:

> And remember, when we turned aside a company of Jinn to thee, that they might hearken to the Qur'án—Súratu'l-Aḥqáf (xlvi) 28.

Still the mission was a failure. It was a great and striking effort, but it did not command success. As Muir well says, 'There is something lofty and heroic in this journey of Muhammad to Tá'if, a solitary man, despised and rejected by his own people, going boldly forth in the name of God, like Jonah to Nineveh, and summoning an idolatrous city to repentance and to the support of his mission. It sheds a strong light on the intensity of his own belief in

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of this journey, see Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii., pp. 200—7.

the divine origin of his calling' He returned to Mecca, but found the opposition of the Quraish as strong as ever It was now quite clear that either he or they must give way and gradually the idea of retiring altogether from Mecca suggested itself to the mind of the Prophet [1] The failure at Mecca was complete The Prophet

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[1] This is hinted at in a late Meccan Sura Suratu l 'Ankabut (xxix) 56

O my servants who have believed! Vast truly is my earth me therefore do ye worship me

Rodwell comments on this thus That is you may find places of refuge where you may worship the true God in some other parts of the earth if driven forth from your native city This verse is very indicative of a late Meccan origin Flight from Mecca must have been imminent when Muhammad could write thus —Rodwell *Qur án* p 329

Husain interprets أرضى واسعة — vast earth as

زمين كشاده است هجرت كنيد از موضع خوف بمنزل امن

'The earth is wide flee from a place of terror to a place of safety —*Tafsir i Husaini* vol ii p 173

'Abbas says that some consider it to be a special reference to Madína and others say It was given to console the faithful at Mecca at a time when they were oppressed and the divine command (حرب) to fight the infidels had not yet been given and so it is a command to flee —*Khalásatu t Tafsir* vol iii p 471

From all this it is clear that Muhammad was now thus preparing his followers for flight

had on his side high family connexions, relationship with the guardians of the Ka'ba, many personal virtues, indomitable patience, uncompromising fearlessness and fervid eloquence, and yet he succeeded in getting only a very small band of followers. His mission at Mecca was a complete failure. The time had come to try elsewhere.

The city of Yathrib was not unknown to Muhammad His grandfather and his great grandmother were natives of the place and his father was buried there There was a good deal of rivalry between Yathrib and Mecca and a man despised in the latter place would not thereby be at a disadvantage in the former. Then, for more than one hundred years there had been a blood feud between the men of the two great tribes who dwelt in Yathrib, and just now there was a disposition to put a stop to these dissensions by selecting some one person as a king or ruler. 'Hence the soil of Yathrib was thoroughly prepared for Islam. In a healthy community like that of Mecca it gained no hold, but in one that was ailing from long years of civil strife, it could spread apace '[1] There was also a strong Jewish colony there which prepared the way for

[1] Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 198.

religious reform The people of Mecca were utter materialists and could not rise to the spiritual part of the Prophet's teaching In Yathrib it was different [1] long intercourse with Jews had made such subjects as the unity of God revelation through prophets and a future life more or less familiar to the inhabitants of the city Islam owes much to Yathrib It saved Muhammad from passing away as a mere enthusiast rejected and disowned by his own people It became the real birthplace of Islam the cradle of its political power and the centre of its conquests throughout Arabia It is thus justly named al Madinatu n Nabi the city of the Prophet and its converts are truly termed the Ansar or helpers of Islam The state of feeling in Madina

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[1] On the other hand Muhammad had to encounter in Madina difficulties which at Mecca he had never experienced The ignorance of the Quraish had enabled him to give what account he pleased of the Suras he recited to them When he asserted that his foolish and extravagant legends about Noah Abraham and others had been made known to him by the Archangel Gabriel and that they were identical with similar stories in the sacred book of the Jews the Meccans lacked the knowledge to prove their falseness At Madina he was confronted by the very people and the very books to whom he had made appeal to confirm the veracity of his mission —Osborn *Islám under the Arabs*, p 43

and the general position of affairs there presented just the circumstances which were calculated to relieve the despondent mood of the Prophet. He was sad, dispirited and worn out by the failure of all his efforts and the persistent opposition of the Quraish. No wonder that thoughts of a change of abode began to fill his mind. They find expression in a Súra of this period.[1]

> Follow thou that which hath been revealed to thee by thy Lord! there is no god but He!

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[1] This Súra contains some Madína verses, for in verse ninety-one we have the usual charge against the Jews of concealing portions of their scriptures. This charge was not usual at Mecca but it was common in Madína. In verse ninety-two we also read of the Qur'án

> And this Book which we have sent down is blessed, confirming that which was before it, and in order that thou mightest warn the mother-city and those who dwell around it—Súratu'l-An'ám (vi).

Sale translates أمّ القرى—mother of the city—as metropolis of Mecca, and has the authority of some commentators for it, but from the context it seems better to refer it to Madína. Anyhow, Muhammad did not, except in the futile expedition to Tá'if (*ante* p 74), preach or warn those who dwelt around Mecca.

It was common now to put back into earlier Súras verses revealed later on. See Wherry's *Commentary on the Qur'án*, vol. ii., p. 182, and Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii., p. 268.

and withdraw from those who join other gods with Him—Sutrau'l-An'ám (vi) 106.

The latter words refer to the Hijra, or flight from Mecca, and so the Prophet's subjective feelings received the sanction and authority of an outward revelation.

In the year A.D. 620, about the time of the annual pilgrimage of the pagan Arabs to Mecca, Muhammad noticed a small company of strangers from Madína. He said to them, 'who are you?' They replied, 'We are Khazrajites,' one of the leading Madína tribes They added, 'We come from a people amongst whom there is much ill-will and enmity, perhaps God will *invite* them through thee we shall invite them to the faith which we ourselves now profess, and if God *unites* them around thee, then no man will be more powerful than thou.' In reply to a further question they said that they were friends of the Jews, whereupon Muhammad propounded to them the doctrine of Islám and read portions of the Qur'án. It would appear that some of the Madina people whom the Prophet now met were Jews[1] for in the Súratu Yúnus (x), a late Meccan one, we have:

They have charged with falsehood that which

[1] This has led some persons to consider that verse forty or even the whole Súra was revealed in Madína.

> they comprehend not, and the explanation thereof hath not yet come unto them. In like manner did those who were before them (charge their messengers) with falsehood: but see what was the end of the unjust. 40.

So also in the Súratu'l-Ahqáf (xlvi), also a late Meccan one:

> If this Book be from God, and ye believe it not, and a witness[1] of the children of Israel bear witness to its conformity (with the Law) and believe thereon while ye turn away scornfully? Verily God guideth not unjust people. 9.

It had so happened that when oppressed by the Khazrajites the Jews, looking forward to the advent of their Messiah, had said: 'The time is nigh when a prophet will arise, we shall follow him and with his help destroy you.' On hearing

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[1] 'Whether this witness and other Jewish supporters of Muhammad were among his professed followers, slaves perhaps, at Mecca, or were casual visitors from Israelitish tribes, or belonged to the Jewish inhabitants of Madína, (with the inhabitants of which city the Prophet was on the point of establishing friendly relations) we cannot do more than conjecture'—Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii., p. 185

Mu'alim says that this witness was a learned Jew, called 'Abdu'llah bin Salám, who became a believer in Madína. Kabír says that the verse is a Madína one and so the witness must have been a Jew there—*Khulásatu't-Tafásír*, vol. iv., p. 201.

Muhammad's claim to be a prophet, these men of Madína thought that this might be the prophet whom the Jews expected and considered that it would be politic to anticipate them and to secure him for their side. So it came to pass that they listened to Muhammad, believed in him and accepted Islám In reply to Muhammad's request for protection at Madína they pointed out that, as there was much disunion and discord amongst them, it would be better for them to return now and to invite the people to accept the faith and that, if God united them in it, they would then return to Mecca at the next annual pilgrimage and report the result. According to Jalálu'd-dín as-Syuti, Muhammad related to these converts the Súratu'l-Yúsuf (Joseph), noted as being the only one in which only one subject is treated of throughout The people of Madína knew something about Joseph from their Jewish neighbours, and now Muhammad repeats it to them in full detail to show that knowledge of the past was given to him by God. The whole account is a travesty of the Mosaic account and bears the mark of having been received at second-hand from ignorant persons, acquainted only with the loose traditional stories. During the year the small body of converts in Madína stood firm and, when the time for the pilgrimage came round again, there

were twelve Ansár [1] amongst the Madína pilgrims. They met the Prophet and took the following oath of obedience to Muhammad and his teaching. 'We will not worship any but the One God we will not steal, neither will we commit adultery, nor kill our children, we will not slander in anywise, and we will not disobey the Prophet in any thing that is right.' This is known as the 'First pledge of 'Aqába,' and, as it contained no promise to defend the Prophet, it is called the 'Pledge of Women,' as being the only one women ever took They then returned to Madína as ardent disciples, and such large numbers attached themselves to the new teaching that they had to send to Mecca to get a special instructor Mus'ab was sent and Islám then took root in Madína The year was one of patient waiting The Prophet evidently despaired of making any further progress at Mecca. His hopes were placed on his new converts at Madína. He determined to leave the Quraish severely alone and received in the last but one Súra revealed in Mecca definite instructions to do so,

Follow that which hath been revealed unto thee

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[1] Literally, 'helpers,' a name given to the Madína converts.

> from thy Lord: there is no god but He, and retire from the idolaters.
>
> If God had so desired, they had not followed idolatry, and we have not made thee a keeper over them, neither art thou over them a guardian.
>
> And revile not those whom they invoke besides God, lest they revile God in enmity from lack of knowledge—Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 106—8.

But if there was now no aggressive work carried on, there was no lack of confidence in the ultimate result and in the full assurance of victory over the obstinate inhabitants of Mecca. Thus.

> The unbelieving (nations) said to their apostles, 'we will surely expel you from our land, or ye shall return to our religion.' Then their Lord spake by revelation unto them, saying, 'Verily we shall destroy the unjust.'
>
> And we shall cause you to inherit the land after them; this shall be for him that feareth my appearing and feareth my threatening.
>
> So they asked assistance of the Lord and every tyrant and rebellious one was destroyed—Súratu Ibráhim (xiv) 16—18.

In the midst of all this silent and possibly dejected state, when the result of thirteen years of constant work seemed likely to lead to nothing but practical banishment, Muḥammad dreamed a dream, and passed, at least in imagination, to

the temple at Jerusalem where angels, patriarchs and prophets met him, and from thence to the highest heaven and the presence of God himself:

> Praise be to Him who carried His servant by night from the sacred temple to the temple that is more remote, whose precincts we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs—Súratu Baní Isrá'íl (xvii) 1.
>
> And remember when we said to thee, verily thy Lord is round about mankind; we ordained the vision which we showed thee. 62.

This event has afforded to the imagination of poets and traditionists ample scope for the most vivid descriptions of what the Prophet saw and heard [1] It is manifestly unfair to look upon these extravagant embellishments as matters of necessary belief The most intelligent members of the modern school of Indian Muslims look upon the Mi'ráj as a vision, though the orthodox utterly condemn such a view.[2]

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[1] For a full description of these marvels, see Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 304—14; also, Deutch, *Literary Remains*, pp. 99—112.

[2] 'All that Muhammadans must believe respecting the Mi'ráj is that the Prophet saw himself, in vision, transported from Mecca to Jerusalem and that in a such a vision he really beheld some of the greatest signs of his Lord'—Syed Aḥmad, *Essays*, vi., p. 34.

The orthodox view is that he who denies the actual bodily migration from Mecca to Jerusalem is a Káfir

When the next period of the pilgrimage came round, Mus'ab brought a full report of the great success he had met with in Madina. On the last night of this pilgrimage Muhammad met his Madína converts Seventy-three men and two women were present. Muhammad gave them an address and asked them to pledge themselves to defend him. This they did, and this pledge is known as the 'Second pledge of 'Aqaba' The nature of the compact will be seen from what follows Muhammad said, 'Swear that you will preserve me from everything from which you preserve your own wives and children' One of the leaders replied, 'Yea, by Him who hath sent thee a Prophet with truth, we shall protect thee as our bodies receive our allegiance, O Prophet of God! By Alláh! we are the sons of war and men of arms which we, the valiant, have inherited from the valiant.' Another said, 'O Apostle of God, there are ties between us and others,' meaning the Jews, 'which now we shall have to tear asunder; but

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(infidel), as he denies the statement of a نص, or plain statement of the Qur'án, he who denies the further ascension to heaven and the account recorded in the traditions is a فاسق (sinner), though he is still a Muslim. See any *Muslim Commentary* and *The Faith of Islám* (ed. 3rd). 252.

if we do this and God gives thee victory, wilt thou then leave us again and return to thy own home?' Muhammad replied, 'Your blood is my blood, what you shed, I also shed, you belong to me and I belong to you, I fight whomsoever ye fight, and I make peace with whomsoever ye make peace.'[1] This shows that the politico-religious development of his system had now advanced a stage farther in the Prophet's mind, and his long-felt desire to unite the Arab people in a political whole seemed nearer its fulfilment This compact was a civil and political one, defensive and offensive, based on the rejection of idolatry, acceptance of Islám and obedience to the will of the Prophet. 'On the first pilgrimage his sympathisers from Madína had only to avow the fealty of women: but on the second, when such further progress had been made that their number exceeded seventy, they had to promise the fealty of men and warriors.'[2] This compact is not a change of front, it simply embodies the growing development of the principles of Islám from the first, and forms a definite starting point for the national and foreign conquests it was now about to enter upon.

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[1] Ibn Isháq, quoted by Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p 325

[2] Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 107.

The last Súra delivered at Mecca is Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii). It deals entirely with the Quraish and is the Prophet's last word there with them. It has been well called the 'Chapter of Apologies,' as it gives reasons why the Prophet did not work miracles When they asked for a sign he was told to say, 'Thou art a warrior only.' The unbelievers said they would not believe unless a sign were sent to him by God No sign was given but the message came.

> Say, God truly will mislead whom He will and He will guide to himself him who turneth to Him. 27.
>
> Whom God causeth to err, no guide shall there be for him.
>
> Chastisement awaiteth them in this present life and more grievous shall be the chastisement of the next. 3—4.

Thus, with words of warning, and threatening of eternal fire and everlasting punishment on those who rejected his claims, the Prophet left the city in which for thirteen long years he had preached and pleaded in vain.

A few days after this, Muhammad gave the command to his followers saying, 'Depart unto Madína for the Lord hath verily given you brethren in that city, and a home in which ye may find refuge.' In the course of two months nearly all had emigrated. The Quraish were very much concerned at all this and, as Mu-

hammad still remained behind, were much perplexed at the state of affairs and wondered what would come next They determined that a deputation should wait on him, but he, fearing some plot, stole away from his house, joined Abú Bakr and, as night drew on, left the city. The action of the Quraish is re-called to mind and referred to in an early Madína Súra:

> And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted[1] against thee, to detain thee prisoner, or to kill thee, or to banish thee · they plotted, but God plotted, and of plotters God is the best—Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 30.[2]

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[1] Sale following some of the traditionists says that the Quraish plotted to kill him, but the traditions seem to have grown out of the verse 'A resolution so fatal would unquestionably have been dwelt on at length, both in the Qur'an and in the traditions, and produced as a justification of all subsequent hostilities'—Wherry, *Commentary on the Qur'án*, vol i, p 84. See also Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol ii, p 125

[2] In a late Meccan Súra Muḥammad referred to the plot against a prophet Sálih

> They devised and we devised a device and they were not aware of it
> And see what was the end of their device. We destroyed them and their whole people.
> And for their sins these their houses are empty ruins: verily in this is a sign to those who understand—Súratu'n-Naml (xxvii) 51—3.

This was no doubt, meant as a warning to the Quraish who were then his better opponents.

Abu Bakr and Muhammad took refuge in a cave for three days until the search was over. Many years after the Qur'an alludes to the miraculous interposition of God in protecting the Prophet

> God assisted him formerly, when the unbelievers drove him forth in company with a second only, when they two were in the cave God strengthened him with hosts ye saw not, and made the words of those who believed not the abased and the word of God was the exalted—Suratu t Tauba (ix) 40

The 'second of the two'—thani athnain—became one of the honourable titles of Abu Bakr [1]

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[1] The Sunnis who highly esteem Abu Bakr say that verse fourteen of Suratu l Ahqaf (xlvi) a late Meccan one, refers to him

> We have commanded man to show kindness to his parents His mother beareth him and bringeth him forth with pain and his bearing and his weaning is thirty months until when he attaineth strength and the age of forty years he saith O Lord give me inspiration that I may be grateful for thy favour wherewith Thou hast favoured me and my parents

According to the commentator Husain Abu Bakr embraced Islám in his thirty eighth year and his father and mother were also converted and in his fortieth year he said O Lord give me inspiration that I may be grateful' The favours are described as the gift and blessing of Islám—*Tafsir i-Husaini* vol ii p 321

Rodwell considers that this explanation of the verse

Muḥammadan traditions record many miracles connected with these three days.[1] On leaving the cave, the travellers arrived in due course at Madína. The Flight—the Hijra—was now complete. It showed that the Prophet's work in Mecca had ended in failure. The Meccans saw that the adoption of his system would lead to a civil despotism based on religion and this they were not prepared to accept. In Madína the prospects were far brighter The expectation by the Jews of a Messiah had caused the idea of a coming prophet to be common; tribal feud and faction had worn the people out and they were really glad of some one with authority to be a ruler amongst them The way was prepared for the setting up of the politico-religious system so long meditated on and by the Prophet so much desired. 'Muhammad's failure in Mecca was that of the Prophet, and his triumph in Madína that of the Chieftain and the Conqueror.'

Up to this time the Qur'án continues, as we have seen, to be made up of arguments in refutation of idolatry and of fierce denunciations of the Meccan people, who were not met with rational arguments, for Muhammad enveloped himself in

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was invented after Abú Bakr became the Khalífa. Noldeke is doubtful about it.

[1] See Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 315—321.

his prophetical dignity, and in the name of Alláh poured forth maledictions upon his opponents and condemned them to be roasted in hell. At Mecca it deals with God's attributes of omnipotence, omniscience and unity, with vivid pictures of the pains of hell and of the joys of Paradise, with legendary stories of preceding prophets and strong self-assertions of Muhammad's claims, and with its own divine nature. The positive precepts are still very limited; the times of prayer, certain rules about food,[1] and prohibitions regarding certain ancient and indecent rites connected with the circumambulation of the Ka'ba,[2] but the ritual is not yet elaborated. The social system and the laws of Islám are not as yet fixed in their rigidity The Madina Súras address the Muslims less on dogma than on the laws which should guide them in their daily lives. The Qur'án, as a whole, is not formed on any fixed plan, but just follows the needs and suggestions of the day and the circumstances of the hour The fervid eloquence of the preacher is now absent, and the dictates of the practical admin-

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[1] Súratu Tá Há (xx), 130, Súratu'r-Rúm (xxx), 17, Súratu Húd (xi), 111, Súratu'l-An'ám (vi), 146—7 and Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi), 119, but this last may be a Madína verse.

[2] Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii), 27—33.

istrator takes its place. The Prophet deals now with questions of social life, domestic details, peace and war. It may be called by contrast the *legal section of the Qur'án*. The style, generally speaking, is that of the third Meccan period and with a few exceptions is not rhetorical. The Súras are long and probably consist of shorter exhortations and statements made on different occasions, and then afterwards arranged in a Súra, but apparently on no definite plan or system [1]

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[1] For an account of the recensions of the Qur'an and its 'various readings' see Sell's *Essays on Islám*, pp. 211—248, 251—267.

CHAPTER II

THE MADÍNA PERIOD

In the year A.D. 622, probably in the month of June, Muhammad made his public entry into Madina, accompanied by about one hundred and fifty persons. The people were willing to receive him though they were not at one as regards his claim to be a Prophet. Owing to their clannish spirit and the tribal feuds existing among them, Muhammad wisely held himself aloof from all their parties and selected, under divine guidance it is said, an isolated neutral spot for his future abode. He also soon erected a mosque in this same place, which thus became the centre of Islám and from which proceeded in due course many political and military orders.

The Muslim community was made up of two parts, one consisted of the Immigrants from Mecca, called the Muhájirún, the other of the first Madína converts, who were called the Anṣár or Helpers.

The Muhájirún are said to be referred to in Suratu'n-Nahl (xvi)[1], 43, 111:

> As to those who when oppressed have fled their country for the sake of God, we will surely provide them a goodly abode in this world, but greater the reward of the next life, did they but know it 43
>
> To those who after their trials fled their country, then fought and endured with patience, verily

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[1] This Sura however is a late Meccan one so if the reference is correct these verses must have been placed in it after the Hijra those who deny this say that, the reference is to the refugees who went to Abyssinia (*ante*, p 85) The commentator Husain says that the reference in verse forty three is to the flight to Abyssinia but that the goodly abode is Madina and that the flight referred to in verse one hundred and eleven is the Hijra

لِلَّذِينَ هاجروا مر ايشانرا كه هجرت كردند بسوى مدينه

Other verses in this Sura such as 115—17 119 are evidently Madína portions

The Muhájirun are also referred to in the seventy third verse of the Suratu l Anfal (viii) as having the rights of kinship but by that time such a bond was no longer needed and so in verse seventy six such rights are cancelled where in contrast with the Muhájirun and the Ansar those who have real blood relationship are to be preferred The commentator Husain on this verse says —

اين آيت ناسخ توارث آن جماعت است كه بسبب هجرت و نصرت ميراث ميگرفتند

'This verse abrogates the inheriting of those who, on account of the Hijra and the victory, had obtained an inheritance,' vol i., p 246.

thy Lord will in the end be forgiving, gracious. 111.

The climate of Madína did not suit the Immigrants who longed for their native air, and so it was necessary to induce them to settle down by bringing them into greater unity with the Ansár. A feast of fraternity was made between the Muhájirún and the Ansár, and about fifty men from each party entered into a bond of brotherhood so close that in the event of one dying his adopted brother became his heir This custom lasted about a year and a half, after which it was not needed and the usual law of inheritance was carried out

The next step was to form a constitution, and a treaty offensive and defensive between all the Muslims (into which Jews for war purposes were admitted). The general purport of it was that they were to help one another, to avenge even on a believer the slaughter of a believer, to pay their own expenses in war, to hold Madína sacred and inviolable, to receive privileges for those under their protection, and in all matters of dispute to submit to the decision of the Prophet. The Jews were allowed to retain their own religion, but were not permitted to go to war without the express sanction of Muḥammad. He thus, at this early stage, became the dictator in all matters, religious, civil

and military, and made use of the Jews as auxiliaries in war. At this period, however, he did all he could to conciliate them. Margoliouth gives several instances from Muslim authorities which show this.[1] When the chief of the Bani Najjár died, the Jews came to Muhammad and asked him to appoint a successor. He said, 'You are my maternal uncles, I belong to you, I will be your chief.[2]

It was at this time when Muḥammad was feeling his way in Madína that the famous verse 'Let there be no compulsion in religion'[3] was

[1] *Mohammed*, p. 226.

[2] Ibn Isháq quoted by Koelle in *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 123.

[3] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 257. لَآ اِكْرَاهَ فِى الدِّيْنِ. This verse, however, is much more liberal in appearance than in fact. It applies only to Jews, Christians, Parsees and Ṣábians, and to them only if they accept the position of Dhimmis and pay the jizya, or poll-tax. As regards the pagan Arab tribes the verse is abrogated by the آيتِ قتال, the 'verse of the killing' (Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 187. They are to be killed unless they become Muslims, as the commentator Ḥusain (vol. i, p. 48) says in the following passage

اکراه نه باید کرد هیچکس را از یهود و نصاری و مجوس و صابیان بر آوردن اسلام بشرط قبول جزیه گفته اند حکم این آیت بآیت قتال منسوخست از تمام قبائل عرب جز دین اسلام قبول نبود اما با دیگران قتال باید کرد تا مسلمان شوند

revealed Whether it refers to the attitude then to be adopted towards the pagans or the Jews of Madína, it is clear that it must have been said during this earlier part of his residence in that city It could not have been delivered after the battle of Badr when its spirit was so completely set aside

The state of affairs in Madina now is thus described by the historian ibn Ishaq 'When Muhammad had found a safe abode in Mecca, when his friends the Immigrants, had united round him, and when the concerns of the Ansár had been arranged, Islam became firmly established Public prayers were performed, fasts

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In the *Khalásatu t Tafásír* we read
جہاد و قتال اسلئے نہیں ھی کہ خواہ مخواہ لوگ مسلمان
ہوجائیں بلکہ اسلام نہ لائیں تو مطیع ہوں
'Jihád and killing are not for this purpose that willingly or unwillingly people may be made Muslims but if they do not embrace Islám they must be made submissive

Again کافر اسیر یا مرتد کا قتل کرنا عقوبۃ ھی — To imprison an infidel or to kill an apostate (from Islam) is by way of punishment —*Khalásatu t Tafásír* vol i p 202

Thus in no sense at all does this verse teach religious liberty, or establish freedom of thought all that is gained by it is that certain classes may escape death by payment of a poll tax and by abject submission to the terms of the established religion of the country

and poor-rates were established, penal laws were executed, things lawful and unlawful were determined, and Islám gained strength amongst the tribe of the Ansár.'[1] It had, in fact, become the chief power now in Madína, ruling over the Muslims in all matters, and powerfully influencing those who as yet held aloof from it.

But all its professors were not equally hearty and sincere. The ancient feuds were professedly forgotten, but it was not so in practice, and many a nominal believer was still influenced by the memory of former strife Still, there was no actual open opposition, but in the hearts of many men there were doubt and misgiving. They are described by ibn Isháq as men 'who were in reality little removed from the idolatry of their fathers and the rejection of the true faith; only that Islám had by its prevalence overpowered them, the mass having already gone over to it They, to save themselves from death, were compelled to accept Islám, at least in appearance; but in secret they were traitors, and their hearts were with the Jews in the rejection of the Prophet.[2] Thus early was force employed and a profession of Islám used as a '*shield*

[1] Quoted by Koelle in *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 124.

[2] See Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p 127

from death.' These men were called the Munáfiqún, or Hypocrites, and continued for a while to exercise an adverse influence. A few years later on, when Muhammad's power increased, he openly denounced them. Súratu'l-Munáfiqûn (lxiii) which is said to have been delivered about the year A.H. 6, contains the Prophet's final sentence against them.

> When the Hypocrites come to thee, they say 'we bear witness that thou art the sent one of God.' God knoweth that thou art His sent one, but God beareth witness that the Hypocrites do lie.
>
> Their faith have they used as a cloak and they turn aside others from the way of God! Evil are all their doings. 1—2.
>
> These are they who say to you of Madína, 'spend not aught upon those who are with the Apostle of God, and they will be forced to quit him.' Yet the treasures of the heavens and of the earth are God's. But the Hypocrites have no understanding.
>
> They say, 'If we return to the city, the mightier will assuredly drive out the weaker from it.' But might is with God, and with the Apostle, and with the Faithful. Yet the Hypocrites understand not. 7—8.

The Jews in Madína were a large and important section of the community on whom, at first, Muḥammad placed great hopes, for to them the

idea of a revelation was familiar. Muḥammad had maintained that Islám and the Jewish and Christian religions in their purity had one common source—the Books from heaven. He seemed to expect that the Jews would admit the divine origin of Islám and acknowledge that he was a divinely-commissioned prophet, at least for the Arab people. As we have already seen he admitted them to certain privileges, used them as confederates and allowed them religious liberty. Noldeke[1] considers that verse forty-five of Súratu'l-'Ankabút (xxix), a late Meccan one, is a Madina verse and that it applies to this time. It reads thus:

> Dispute not with the people of the Book, except in kindly manner, except against such of them as deal evil with you.[2]

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[1] Noldeke, *Geschichtes des Qorans*, p. 116.

[2] لَا تُجَادِلُوا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ إِلَّا بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ إِلَّا الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنْهُمْ

This verse has caused much perplexity to the Muslim commentators Ḥusain says it refers only to those who were connected with Muhammad by treaty or were tributaries to Islám, i e, were Dhimmís. He writes thus: يا اهل الكتاب يعني كسانيكه درعهد شما اند يا جزية قبول كرده اند

However this may be there is no doubt that now he was very anxious to gain their allegiance and so in several ways he strove to win them to his side They turned towards Jerusalem in

With the people of the Book i e those who are in treaty with you or pay the jizya (poll tax)

Some of the Arabic commentators look on this passage more as a proof of fear of the Jews than as a recommendation to mild dealing Thus

كان اهل الكتاب يقرون التوراة بالعبرانية و يفسرونها
بالعربية لاهل الاسلام فقال رسول الله صلعم لا تصدقوا
اهل الكتاب ولا تكذبوهم و قولوا امنا بالله و ما انزل

The possessors of the Scriptures (Jews) read the Law in Hebrew and explain it to the Muslims in Arabic so the Prophet said Neither agree with the possessors of Scripture nor call them liars and say we believe on God and that which He hath sent down

Another account is that a Jew who had just passed by a corpse said to the Prophet —

فقال يا محمد هل تتكلم هذه الجنازة فقال رسول الله
صلعم احدثكم اهل الكتب فلا تصدقوهم ولا تكذبوهم
ولكن قولوا امنا بالله و ملائكته و كتبه و رسله فان كان
باطلا لم تصدقوهم و ان كان حقا لم تكذبوهم

'O Muhammad does this corpse speak? He said Neither agree with the possessors of the Scriptures nor call them liars but say we believe in God His Angels His word and His Apostles If what the Jews say is vain do not confirm it if it is true do not give them the lie i e preserve a strictly neutral attitude

Geiger *Judaism and Islám* pp 15 16

prayer so did he they observed the Feast of the Atonement on the tenth day of the month by sacrifice and fasting he ordered his followers to do the same Thus he made it easy for certain Jews to pass over to Islam These men proved most useful for they could supply him with much needed information about the ancient Scriptures and they led him to believe that there were in them passages relating to his advent These men are constantly referred to as his 'witnesses.

Baidáwí (vol ii p 98) admits that it is said to be abrogated by the fifth verse of Suratu t Tauba (ix) the latest but one of all the Suras in the Qur án and which was repealed when the breach with the Jews was quite complete It is as follows

فاقتلوا المشركين حيث وجدتموهم

Kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them

This is called the آية السيف the verse of the sword' It s difficult to see since it refers to idolaters or to Christians who were considered to be polytheists how it can abrogate a verse directly connected with Jews

This آية السيف is said to abrogate an early Meccan verse delivered when the Prophet s position was not secure He then said to men who sought for a compromise, To you be your religion to me be my religion —Suratu l Káfirún (cix) 6 This position could not be allowed when Islám was strong and hence the reason for the abrogation of such a liberal sentiment (*Ante* p 10)

But the great body of the Jews did not accept him or admit his claim. The prophet for whom they looked was to come of the house of David. Thus they formed a standing protest against the position he assumed, which was that their own Scriptures testified of him. Still, as Islám grew, it was clear that all else must give way. Many pagan Arabs and some of the Jews left the city. Ibn Isháq says, 'Under these circumstances the Rabbis of the Jews became Muhammad's enemies. They were filled with envy because God had chosen his ambassador from amongst the Arabs.' Some Jews, however, from fear accepted Muhammad and the new religion. They are described by the Arab historian as those 'who sought shelter in Islám and accepted it only in appearance, whilst they were hypocrites at heart.' Thus there were Munáfiqún both amongst the pagan and the Jewish converts The enmity of the Jews was as dangerous to him as that of the idolaters, since the former did him hurt not only in war and politics but by sharp criticism and pointed sayings concerning Islám Seeing that it was hopeless to win over the Jews as a body, Muhammad now changed his position with reference to them, and accused them of unbelief and of dishonesty in tampering with their Scriptures.

The Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) is almost the latest

Meccan one, but verse ninety-one was evidently added at Madina:

> Say, who sent down the Book which Moses brought, a light and a guidance to man, which ye set down on paper, publishing part, but concealing most: though we have now been taught that which neither ye nor your fathers knew? Say, It is God; then leave them in their discussion to play. 91.

These words show that Muhammad did not charge them with the corruption of the text, for that they 'set down on paper,' but with suppressing or concealing portions of it to evade his claims.[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii), the earliest Madína Súra, revealed in the early part of the second year of the Hijra,[2] embodies many reve-

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[1] Rodwell says, 'Muhammad rarely accused the Jews and Christians of corrupting, but often of misinterpreting, their sacred books in order to evade his claims. His charges, however, are vaguely worded and his utterances on this subject are tantamount to a strong testimony in favour of the unimpeachable integrity of the sacred Books, both of the Jews and the Christians so far as he knew them'—Rodwell, *Qur'án*, p 434.

[2] Several portions of this Sura, however, are Meccan, especially the verses nineteen to thirty-seven. This is seen from the subject matter and also from the use of the term يَاأَيُّهَا النَّاسُ—'O men,' which occurs in verse nineteen. This is not the usual term used when addressing the people of Madína, which is يَاأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا—'O ye who believe.'

lations against the Jews. It is far too long for detailed study, but a few extracts from it and other Súras will make the matter clear :

> O children of Israel! remember my favour wherewith I showed favour upon you, and be true to your covenant with me, I will be true to my covenant with you, me, therefore, revere, and believe in what I have sent down confirming your Scriptures, and be not the first to disbelieve it (i e., Qur'án), neither for a mean price barter my signs: therefore, fear ye me! and clothe not the truth with falsehood and hide not the truth when ye know it. 38.

This second Súra also contains a long passage recounting God's mercy to the Jews under Moses and in the wilderness. There is a verse in it which has given rise to much controversy:

> Verily they who believe (Muslims), and they who follow the Jewish religion and the Christians and the Sábians—whosoever of these believeth in God and the last day, and doeth that which is right, shall have their reward with their Lord: fear shall not come upon them, neither shall they be grieved—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 59 [1]

This seems to show that all these religions are equally good, but this is not the generally

[1] The general opinion of the commentators is that the Sábians were a tribe whose religion was a mixture of Judaism and Christianity, they worshipped one God, though some deny this, read the Psalms, prayed towards

received idea for some commentators [1] say that the words 'believeth in God and the last day, and doeth that which is right mean that non Muslims must forsake their errors and become Muslims others hold that the passage is abro gated by the verse

> Whoso desireth any other religion than Islám it shall not be accepted of him and in the next world he shall be of those who perish [2]—Suratu Ali Imran (iii) 79

The hypocrisy of some of the Jews who had become Muslims is referred to in

When they fall in with the faithful they say We

Mecca and worshipped angels The meaning of the whole passage is said to be that —

کوئی جو مسلمان یا کتابی یا غیر کتابی جب ایمان لاۓ اور اچھے کام کرے اس سے خوف نہیں

Whoever Muslim or Kitábi (i e Jew or Christian) or non Kitáb belie es and does good works has no cause of fear —*Khalásatu t Tafásir* vol i p 40 Rodwell says the Sabians are the Mendaites or so called Christians of St John See Rodwell *Qur án* p 437 For a full account of the Sábians see S Lane Poole *Studies in a Mosque* pp 252—88

[1] Doeth what is right means enter Islám with sincere entrance —دخل فی الاسلام دخولا صادقا—Baidawí vol i p 64 See also Wherry *Comm ntary on the Qur án* vol i p 312

[2] ومن يبتغ غير الاسلام دينا فلن يقبل منه وهو في الآخرة من الخسرين

believe but when they are apart one with an other they say Will ye acquaint them with what God hath revealed to you that they may dispute with you about it in the presence of your Lord ? Understand ye their aim

Know they not that God knoweth what they hide as well as what they bring to light

But there are illiterates among them who are un acquainted with the Book [1] but with lies only and have but vague fancies Woe to them who transcribe the Book corruptly and then say This is from God that they may sell it for some mean price Woe to them for that which their hands have written and woe to them for the gains they have made

They say Hell fire shall not touch us but for a few days Say have ye received such a pro mise from God ? for God will not revoke His promise or speak ye of God that which ye know not ?

But they whose gains are evil works and who are environed by their sins —they shall be in

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It is said that this verse abrogates all past religions and all which may arise in the future

اس نے اون تمام دینوں کو منسوخ کردیا جو گزر گئے یا پیدا کئے جائیں

Khalásatu t Tafásir vol i p 271

[4] The text denies the acceptability of any religion which differs therefrom —Baiḍáwí vol i p 164

[1] The Pentateuch

> mates of the fire, therein to abide for ever—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 71—5.

In other ways the Jews gave offence. Baiḍáwí says that Abú Bakr asked a Jew for a loan, saying 'who will lend God a good loan?' The Jew said, 'if God wants a loan, then He must be poor,' Abú Bakr struck him and the Jew forthwith complained to the Prophet, but got no redress. Then this verse came.

> Now hath God heard the saying of those who said, 'Aye God is poor and we are rich.' We will surely write down their sayings and their unjust slaughter of the prophets and we will say, 'Taste ye the torment of the burning'—Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 177.

The demand of the Jews for a prophetic sign is referred to in the following verse:—

> To those who say, 'Verily God hath enjoined us that we are not to credit an apostle until he presents us a sacrifice which fire out of heaven shall destroy'—Súratu Áli 'Imrán, (iii) 179.

The Jews said that the fire which descended from heaven on the altar of the Tabernacle (Leviticus ix 24) and afterwards on the altar at the dedication of Solomon's Temple (2 Chronicles vii 1) was constantly kept alive until the Chaldeans destroyed the Temple. They seemed to expect that a true prophet would re-kindle it.

Muhammad at once in the next verse replied to their demand thus:

> Say, already have apostles before me come to you with miracles and with that of which ye speak, Wherefore slew ye them? 180.

The commentators say that he here refers to Zachariah and Yahyá (John the Baptist)[1] and so argues that, if they slew prophets who had miraculous powers why should he gratify their wishes and cause fire to come down from heaven.

Those who did not admit that any part of the Scriptures referred to Muhammad are thus addressed:

> Believe ye then part of the Book and deny part? But what shall be the meed of him among you who doth this, but shame in this life? And on the day of the resurrection they shall be sent to the most cruel of torments, for God is not regardless what ye do—Súratu'l Baqara (ii) 79.

They would not recognize the Qur'án as a book of authority, a state of obstinacy which called forth from the Prophet the bitter imprecation

> The curse of God be on the infidels—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 83.

He then goes on to say:

> For a vile price have they sold themselves, that they should not believe in that which God sent

[1] Baidáwí, 'Abdu'lláh bin 'Abbás and Husaini.

> down, envious of God's sending down His grace on such servants as He pleaseth, and they have brought upon themselves wrath upon wrath [1]—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 84.

The protection of God is promised to Muhammad against all such as cut themselves off from him.

> If therefore they believe even as ye believe, then have they true guidance; but if they turn back then do they cut themselves off from you, and God will suffice to protect thee against them—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 131.

The accusation about hiding the testimony of the Scriptures to Muhammad is made in:

> Who is more in fault than he who concealeth the witness which he hath from God?—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 134.

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[1] 'Wrath upon wrath' بغضب علی غضب is said by the commentator Mujáhid to mean that the first wrath lies on those who reject the Pentateuch, the second on those who reject Muḥammad—*Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír*, vol. i, p 51.

The commentator Ḥusain says that the first wrath lies on those who reject Christ and the Gospels, and the other on those who reject Muḥammad and the Qur'án—خشمی بانکار عیسی و انجیل و خشمی بانکار محمد و قرآن vol. i, p 16.

Baidáwí explains it as the punishment which follows on disbelief in Muḥammad, and in Christ, or on their saying that 'Uzair (Ezra) was the Son of God—vol. i, p. 72.

The next Súra in order is Súratu'l-Baiyina (xcviii) and here again the same charge is repeated:

> The unbelievers among the people of the Book and the polytheists did not waver until the clear evidence had come to them;
>
> A messenger from God, reciting to them the pure pages wherein are true Scriptures.
>
> Neither were they unto whom the Scriptures were given divided among themselves, till after this clear evidence had reached them. 1–3.[1]

The following verses continue the charge.

> And truly are there among them who torture the Scriptures with their tongues, in order that ye may suppose it to be from the Scripture, yet it is not from the Scripture; and they say, 'This is from God,' yet it is not from God; and they utter a lie against God, and they know they do so—Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 72

In the latest Súra of all we have.

> They shift the words of Scripture from their places

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[1] پیش از بعثت انحضرت همه مجتمع بودند در تصدیق وی و بعد از انکه مبعوث شد مختلف شدند بعضی گرویدند بوی و برخی کافر شدند

'Before the time of Muḥammad, they all looked forward to the coming of a prophet whom they would follow, but when he came they wavered and were divided in opinion; some followed him, and some did not'—*Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí*, vol. ii, p. 470.

> and have forgotten part of what they were taught—Suratu'l Má'ida (v) 16
>
> O people of the Scriptures! Now is our Apostle come to you to clear up to you much that ye concealed of these Scriptures and to pass over many things. Now hath a light and a clear Book come to you from God by which God will *guide him who shall follow after His good pleasure* to paths of peace and will bring them out of the darkness to the light by His will and to the straight path will He guide them—Suratu'l Má'ida (v) 18[1]

The charge in all these verses is not that of altering the written text of the Scriptures, but of hiding its truth by which Muhammad meant allusions to himself which he asserted were contained therein.

It is not stated that the Scriptures themselves

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[1] The accusation here is that the Jews concealed passages in the Pentateuch concerning the praises of Muhammad and the verse of stoning and that the Christians concealed the prophecy of Jesus given in the Injíl concerning Ahmad. The phrase 'much that ye concealed' مِمَّا كُنْتُمْ تُخْفُونَ is explained to mean what has just been stated concerning Jews and Christians

از آنچه هستند که آن را پنهان میدارید من الکتب از توریت چون نعت محمد مصطفی و آیت رجم و از انجیل چون بشارت عیسی به احمد

Tafsír-i-Husainí vol i p 140 Baidáwí, vol i, p 251

are so corrupted as to cease to be genuine Indeed the evidence is all the other way

> Verily we have sent down the Law (Taurat) wherein are guidance and light Suratu l Má ida (v) 48

It is said that this statement is exclusively for Jews and Christians and that for Muslims all other religions are abrogated by the verse [1]

> Whoso desireth any other religion than Islám that religion shall not be accepted from him Suratu Ali Imran (iii) 79

In this way conservative Muslims excuse themselves from paying that attention to previous scriptures which the Qur an so clearly enjoins Other statements in the Suratu l Ma ida (v) to this effect are

> But if the people of the Book believe and have the fear of God we will surely put away their sins from them and will bring them into gardens of delight and if they observe the Law and the Evangel and what hath been sent down to them from their Lord [2] they shall surely have their fill of good things from above them and from beneath their feet 70

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[1] ومن يبتغ غير الاسلام دينا فلن يقبل منه

[2] The general interpretation is that this refers to the Qur án if to other divine books then it is said that as they testify to the coming of Muhammad the reader must necessarily become a Muslim It is not held that

> Say, O people of the Book, ye have no ground to stand on, till ye observe the Law, the Injíl and that which[1] hath been sent down to from your Lord. 72.

Here obedience to the Old and New Testaments, as well as to the Qur'án, is inculcated, which would not have been the case had the text of the former Books been tampered with. In fact, no Books have been, according to Muhammad's own testimony as given in the Qur'án, so well safeguarded:

> And to thee have we sent down the Qur'án with truth, confirmatory of previous Scriptures *and their safeguard*[2]—Suratu'l-Má'idah (v) 52.

It is clear from this that the Scriptures had

Jews and Christians accepting only the Old and the New Testaments can be saved—*Khalasatu't Tafasir*, vol. i, p. 549

The point, however, to notice is that the Old and the New Testaments are here treated as co-ordinate with the Qur'án, and logically the Muslim should accept them all Practically he does nothing of the kind This verse is also of great importance, for being in the latest Súra it has run no risk of abrogation, and so stands as a permanent indictment against all Muslims who refuse to accept the teaching of the Bible

[1] The Qur án

[2] وَأَنزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الْكِتَبَ بِالْحَقِّ مُصَدِّقاً لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ مِنَ الْكِتَبِ وَمُهَيْمِناً عَلَيْهِ

not been corrupted before the time of Muhammad for the Qur an confirms them they cannot from a Muslim standpoint have been corrupted since for the Qur an has been their safeguard their trusty keeper Thus Muslims who make rash statements on this subject not only show great ignorance of the Qur án itself but treat it with the utmost disrespect when they thus impute failure to it in this most important duty which it claims to fulfil

The word مهيمنا is translated by Husain as نگاهبان a guard This

مهيمنا عليه نگاهبانست بر كتب كه محافظت آن ميكند از تغير

'A guard over the books which protects them from change —*Tafsír i Husainí* vol i p 148

Baidawi says it is a guardian over all the books — رقيبا على سائر الكتب

اس آيت ميں قرآن كى فضيلت تمام كتب آسمانى پر ثابت هى اس لئے كه اسے محافظ امين شاهد امانت دار تمام كتابوں كا قرار ديا ہيں قرآن جامع و شامل هى اور هدايت ميں كامل

'In this verse the superiority of the Qur án over all heavenly Books is proved for to it is the appointment given that it should be their guard trustee witness and trusty keeper but the Qur án is the compendium comprehending all and in guidance perfect —*Khalásatu t Tafásír*, vol i p 529

If then the Scriptures have been corrupted the Qur'an has *failed of its purpose and has not been their safeguard*. The fact is that Muhammad had no real doubt about the authenticity and genuineness of the Scriptures but now that he had no further use for the Jews it was necessary to discredit them and to show that they were not worthy of credit. It is instructive to note that all these passages about the perversion of the meaning of the Bible and the charge of concealing its predictions *were revealed at Madina*.

The Jews having been thus rebuked and set aside as no longer likely to be useful or necessary, there was no object whatever in assimilating the customs and practices of Islam to those of Judaism so the Qibla (i e the direction towards which the prayers should be said) was now changed back again[1] from Jerusalem to Mecca.

[1] The first change from Mecca to Jerusalem is not mentioned in the Qurán but it is supposed that the words of contemplation: The foolish ones will say What hath turned them from the Qibla which they need — Súratu'l Baqara (ii) 136 refer to this.

The original is ما ولّهم عن قبلتهم التى كانوا عليها on which Jalalu'd dín says

لما هاجر امر باستقبال بيت المقدس تألفا لليهود ستة أو سبعة شهرا

and, as usual, a revelation came to authorize the change.

It is immediately preceded by a long passage in the second Sura to show that the Ka'ba and the religion of Abraham, of which Islám is declared to be the revival, is better than the Qibla of the Jews and Judaism. The Christians, too, have a hint given them in the expression 'The baptism of God have we received,'[1] that in the reception of Islám consists the true regeneration

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'After the Hijra he ordered his followers to turn to the Temple at Jerusalem (בית המקדש), this, however, which was done to conciliate the Jews, held good for six or seven months only, and then he changed it.' See Geiger, *Judaism and Islam*, p. 14.

[1] The original in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 132 is simply صِبْغَةَ اللّٰهِ 'Baptism of God.' Sale adds the words, 'do we receive' and Rodwell adds 'Islám,' and reads 'Islám is the baptism of God.' Palmer says it means the 'dye of God,' and that the word is a metaphor derived from dyeing cloth and must not be confounded with baptism. The commentators differ in their interpretation. Some say that it simply means دين الله, 'religion of God,' others that it means 'circumcision' and is meant to show the Christians that though they have substituted baptism for that rite, yet the Muslims also have a ceremony which purifies the recipient. By those who adopt this view صِبْغَةَ اللّٰهِ is explained as

ختان است و آن تطهیر مسلمان باشد

of man. Then the change of the Qibla is openly stated in the verses:[1]

> We appointed the Qibla, thou formerly hadst, only that we might know him who followeth the Apostle from him who turneth on his heels. The change is a difficulty, but not to those whom God hath guided. But God would not let your faith be fruitless for unto man is God merciful, gracious
>
> We have seen thee turning thy face towards every part of heaven, but we will have thee turn to a Qibla which shall please thee. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque and,

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'Circumcision which purifies Muslims'—*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p 23

The word also means colour, and so some say that when a man was admitted into the Christian church his clothes and person were coloured yellow, others that his children were baptized in yellow water Then they go on to say that, when a man became a Muslim, he was purified from the contamination of idolatry and received, under the metaphor of dyeing, a sort of spiritual baptism. In these several ways, however, the commentators try to show that Christians have no rites superior to those of Islám, whether as to a Qibla or as to a baptism—*Khalásatu't-Tafásír*, vol i, p. 80 Baidáwí agrees generally with the above

[1] Noldeke gives several authorities for the statement that even in Mecca Muhammad turned towards Jerusalem in prayer, but considers that these verses show that the Muslims in Madína did not like this custom and that therefore it was most probably a recent innovation—*Geschichtes des Qorans*, p 129.

> wherever ye be, turn your face towards that part—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 138–9

The traditionists relate many stories connected with this event in the Prophet's life. One is, that 'when he found the Jews obstinate he said to Gabriel, "I wish God would change the Qibla to the Ka'ba," Gabriel replied, "Thou hadst better ask God thyself for thou art highly esteemed by Him." The Prophet after this always looked up to heaven, waiting for tidings to change the Qibla'

The Ramadán fast, also was now substituted for the one hitherto kept simultaneously with the Jewish fast

> As for the month Ramaḍán, in which the Qur'án was sent down to be man's guidance and an explanation of that guidance, and of that illumination, as soon as any one of you observeth the moon let him set about the fast—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 181.

A stern warning is given to the Jews in:

> Those who conceal aught that we have sent down, either of clear proof or guidance, after what we have so clearly shown to men in the Book God shall curse them, and they who curse shall curse them—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 154[1]

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[1] The book referred to is the Pentateuch Those who conceal its meaning are to be cursed by God. 'Those

Either in connexion with these changes or on more general grounds, some of the converts from Judaism desired still to observe portions of the Jewish Law. Husain says that ibn Salám and his friends were converts to Islám who still wished to keep the laws of the Pentateuch. They are thus rebuked and warned:

> O believers, enter completely into the true religion and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your declared enemy.[1]
>
> But if ye lapse after that our clear signs have come to you, know that God is mighty, wise.
>
> Ask the children of Israel how many clear signs we have given them, but if any man alter the gift of God,[2] after it shall have reached him, certainly God will be vehement in punishing him.—Súratu'l Baqara (ii) 204–5, 207.

This antagonism between Muhammad and the Jews was perfectly natural. Not only were they

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who curse,' that is, angels, genii and men, will also curse them—*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 26. *Tafsír-i-'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás*, p. 29.

[1] Commentators say that by 'the true religion' is meant Islám, by 'steps of Satan,' deceits of the devil, inducing the Jews to observe laws already abrogated—وساوس شيطانى باحكام منسوخه—*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 35.

[2] The نعمت الله, 'gift of God,' is said by some to refer to Muḥammad, by others, and more correctly, to the Qur'án. Wherry, on the authority of the *Tafsír-i-Raufí*,

unable to admit his claims, but on one great principle of action they were fundamentally opposed. He, as we shall see, desired to conserve the old Arab customs and even allowed much of the old pagan ceremonial to remain in Islám; they were conservative upholders of the ceremonies of their revealed Law and of the customs based on the interpretations of it. The time had now come when the breach with Judaism must be complete, and Muhammad made changes with, as is alleged by Arabian writers, the express object of abolishing from Islám resemblances to Judaism.[1]

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refers it to Jewish Scriptures—*Commentary on the Qur'án*, vol i, p 315

[1] كراهة لموافقة النعى التشبية باليهود

quoted by Rabbi Geiger in *Judaism and Islám*, p 157. The learned Rabbi proceeds to show in detail how many changes Muhammad made. Amongst others he refers to the prayer (صلاة العشا) after supper as contrary to the Talmudic orders.

The laws about women conform more to Arabian than to Jewish usage. The permission in Súratu'l-Baqara, (ii) 183 is opposed to the directions of the Talmud.

The law laid down in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 230, is simply disgusting, so much so that Syed Amír 'Alí considers that it has been abrogated by the next verse (*Life of Muhammad*, p. 248), but it is still the law of Islám. This law Syed Amír 'Alí expounds in his learned work, *Personal Law of the Muhammadans*, p. 335. As an

Coincident with this rejection of the Jews is the attempt to conciliate the Meccans by sanctioning the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba

> Accomplish the pilgrimage and the visitation of the holy places in honour of God—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 192

Divine approval is also obtained for the retention of the pagan ceremonies of going round the hills Safá and Marwa

> Verily, Safá and Marwa are among the monuments of God whoever then maketh a pilgrimage to the temple, or visiteth it, shall not be to blame if he go round them both—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 153.

It is however, probable, that these verses are interpolations here and that they were really revealed later on when the first pilgrimage was made

This second Sura, Súratu'l-Baqara, then, throws a clear light on the changing policy of

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historian he regrets the Qur'ánic injunction and throws doubt upon its authority, but as the trained and practical lawyer he admits its obligation The actual existing law on the subject is also given in Baillie's *Imameea*, p. 120, and in his *Hanifeea*, p 292. It is, however, distinctly opposed to the Jewish law on the subject as stated in Deuteronomy, xxiv, 1—4 It is a clear instance of the way in which Muhammad now sought to differentiate Islám from Judaism.

Muḥammad at this early period of his Madína career and is itself illustrated by the history of the period. It is also an excellent example of the way in which the revelations were timed to meet the exigencies of the varying social and political situations of the Prophet and his cause. It also shows that he had already, at this early stage of his residence in Madína, realized that open war with his countrymen was unavoidable and must soon come. At all events, it was time to prepare the minds of his followers for cares and troubles of this kind and to stimulate their zeal and courage by examples from Jewish history:

> Think ye to enter Paradise, when no such things have come upon you, as on those who flourished before you? Ills and troubles tried them—Súratu'l Baqara (ii) 210
>
> Hast thou not thought on those who quitted their dwellings—and they were thousands—for fear of death? God said to them, 'Die', then He restored them to life, for full of bounty towards man is God But most men are thankless
>
> Fight for the cause of God—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 244–5.

This exhortation is followed by a description of the wars of Moses and of Saul Muhammad shows his ignorance of Old Testament history by confusing Saul and Gideon together. Still these

examples of men of old served now to inflame the zeal of his followers

The antipathy thus excited against the Jews increased after the battle of Badr, when, flushed with victory, Muhammad called upon the Jews of the Bani Qainuqá' tribe to believe in Islám, lest God should visit them as he had done the Quraish in the recent battle.[1] They had boasted that in their case defeat would not have been so easy and that they could successfully have resisted the Muslims So the revelation came :

> If thou fear treachery from any people throw back their treaty to them as thou fairly mayest for God loveth not the treacherous.
>
> And think not that the infidels shall escape us—Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 60—1.

They refused, and were all expelled from the country and their goods and property were confiscated The Bani Nadir were a wealthy people, one of whose chief Rabbis, Ka'b ibn Ashraf, had been friendly with Muhammad until

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[1] Margoliouth (*Mohammed*, p 231) states that a tradition records that Abú Bakr wished to get a loan from these Jews, saying, 'who will lend God a loan?' 'If God wants a loan,' replied Pinchas, son of Aizariah, 'He must be in distressed circumstances' This was met by a blow The Jew complained to Muḥammad, apparently denying that he said these words Muhammad

the change of the Qibla was made, when he became his opponent. He was assassinated in July A.D 624 with the connivance of Muhammad. A few months after the battle of Uhud, the whole tribe, in June 625, was thus addressed. 'Thus saith the Prophet of the Lord, ye shall go out of my country within the space of seven days, whosoever shall remain behind after that shall be put to death' They declined, and said, 'We will not go.' The Jews unfortunately did not maintain this courageous spirit. They made no attempt at mutual resistance, and so were subjugated in detail This is referred to in the verse:

> They (the Jews) will not fight against you in a body, except in fenced towns, or behind walls. Mighty is their valour amongst themselves, but their hearts are divided--Súratu'l-Hashr (lix) 14.

The Muslims justly showed contempt for their boasting and as they themselves were now

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seized the opportunity of justifying his conduct to the Jews, for Gabriel conveniently brought the revelation

> Now hath God heard the saying of those who said, 'Aye, God is poor and we are rich' We will surely, write down their sayings, and their unjust slaughter of the prophets, and we will say, 'Taste ye the torment of the burning'—Súratú Áli 'Imrán (iii) 177.

powerful these Jews were exiled and their fertile fields and property were divided amongst the Muhájirun The divine sanction for this proceeding is found in Súratu'l-Hashr (lix) thus.

> He it is who caused the unbelievers among the people of the Book to quit their homes and join those who had emigrated previously.[1]
>
> And were it not that God had decreed their exile, surely in this world would He have chastised them, but in the next the chastisement of fire awaiteth them.
>
> Your cutting down some of the palm trees and sparing others was by God's permission and to put the wicked to shame—Súratu'l-Ḥashr 2, 3, 5.

It was quite contrary to Arab usages of war to destroy the palm-trees and it was prohibited by the Law of Moses, (Deuteronomy, xx, 19). So Muhammad had by this revelation to justify his conduct after the deed was done A special revelation also warranted him in giving great part of the booty to the Muhájirún:[2]

> To the poor refugees also doth a part belong, who have been driven from their homes and their

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[1] The Bani Qainuqá'.

[2] The Muhájirún are also led to expect a great reward in the future life.

> Those who fled, and were turned out of their homes and suffered in my cause and were killed, I will

> **substance, and who seek favour from God and His Apostles, and aid God and His Apostle.** These are the men of genuine virtue—Súratu'l-Hashr (lix) 8
>
> As for those who have believed and fled their country, and fought on the path of God, and given the Prophet an asylum, and been helpful to him, these are the faithful mercy is their due and a noble provision
>
> And they who have believed and fled the country since and have fought at your side, these also are of you —Súratu'l Anfál (viii) 75—6

The Jews are also thus denounced and warned in these bitter cruel words

> Verily, those who disbelieve in our signs, we will surely broil them in hell fire, as often as their skins shall be well burned we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may taste the torment—Súratu'n-Nisá'. (iv) 59.

The commentator Ḥusain (vol ii, p. 396) says that certain of the Hypocrites, (Munáfiqún) ibn Ali, ibn Bautal and others had promised to help the Bani Nadir, but failed to keep their promise They are likened to Satan, who persuaded man to be an infidel and said, 'I share not thy guilt,' [Suratu'l-Ḥashr (lix.) 16]; and so

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blot out their sins from them and I will bring them into gardens beneath which rivers flow. A reward from God—Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 194—5.

Muḥammad justified his exclusion of these men from a share in the booty thus:

> Hast thou not observed the disaffected (Munáfiqún) saying to their unbelieving brethren among the people of the book, 'If ye be driven forth, we will go forth with you; and in what concerneth you, never will we obey any one; and if ye be attacked, we will certainly come to your help.' But God is witness that these are liars—Súratu'l-Hashr (lix) 11.

In the fifth year of the Hijra the Bani Quraiza, a large Jewish tribe, was exterminated. At the time of the siege of Madína by the Meccans they had great inducements held out to them to join with the opponents of Muhammad and doubtless, like all Jews at this time, they were sullen and discontented. As a matter of fact they did not aid the besiegers, but remained quiet. They had also refused to aid the Bani Naḍír, but it was not remembered in their favour. Had they been braver and have stood by their brethren when attacked, these Jews could probably have made much better terms with Muḥammad.

Their presence in Madína may have been a source of political danger, but still nothing can justify the savage treatment they received. They offered to emigrate, they pleaded for their lives, but they pleaded in vain. They appealed to their Arab friends and allies, the Bani Aws, to

intercede for them. They did this most earnestly. Muḥammad to conciliate this powerful Arab tribe suggested that a member of it should decide the case, thus adroitly shifting the responsibility from himself: but he took good care that the choice of the referee should not rest with the Jews Muhammad chose Sa'd bin Mu'ádh, who had been formerly a friend of the Jews, but having just before been wounded in a skirmish, he was vexed with them for remaining quiet instead of helping to repel the Meccans, and so had already reported unfavourably of them to Muhammad. The decision now was a foregone conclusion. Sa'd decided that the men should be slain and that the women and children should be sold as slaves. Muhammad declared the sentence to be 'the judgment of God.' The men were then taken to Madína and all slaughtered in cold blood in batches of five or six at a time in the presence of Muhammad himself. The market-place at last was drenched with the blood of nearly eight hundred men. Under the personal direction of the Prophet trenches were dug in the market-place, to the brink of which the captives were led, then forced to kneel down and so were beheaded. Their bodies were then cast into the trenches and covered over. Some of the females were divided amongst the Muslims and the rest were sold as slaves. The fifth

portion which fell to the Prophet's lot came to about two hundred women and children, who were sold to the Bedouins for horses and arms. A beautiful widow, whose husband had just been slaughtered, was reserved by Muḥammad for his own harem. Thus, when two tribes had been exiled and one exterminated, the power of the Jews was broken for ever in Madína, and Muḥammad was free to look farther afield for fresh conquests. There was a time when Muhammad had desired the friendship of the Jews, but each victory won, and each lot of booty captured made him less dependent on them for recognition and for funds. 'The change from a basis of reason to a basis of force had taken place gradually, but now was finally achieved.' [1]

Súratu'l-Ahzáb (xxxiii), in verses nine to twenty-seven, deals with the defeat of the besiegers of Madína in what is known at the 'battle of the ditch.' The two concluding verses of the passage make God responsible for the massacre of the Jews.

> He caused the people of the Book (the Jews) who had aided the confederates (i.e., Meccans) to come down out of their fortresses and cast

[1] Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 334.

> dismay into their hearts; some ye slew, others ye took prisoners.[1]
>
> And He gave you their land and their dwellings and their wealth for an heritage—Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxii) 27—8.

Raiháne, the beautiful Jewess, whom Muhammad reserved to himself, refused to marry him, saying, 'Nay, O Prophet, but let me remain as thy slave. this will be easier for me and for thee.' She also refused to abandon her faith. It is reasonable to suppose that she had some aversion to becoming the wife of a man who had not only sanctioned but had been present at the cruel massacre of her husband and her relatives. She had no power to refuse the position of a slave, so Muhammad took her as his concubine and justified his action by the verse:

> O Prophet! We allow thee thy wives whom thou hast dowered, *and the slaves* whom thy right

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[1] Commenting on this verse, Baidáwí says that it is related that Gabriel came to the Prophet in the early morning after the Meccans had been defeated and asked why he had put off his armour, whilst the angels had not removed theirs He then told him to go after the Bani Quraiza and not to say the evening prayer till he could say it in the locality now occupied by these Jews (vol. ii, p. 126). Bukhárí relates the same story, clearly indicating that Gabriel directed the attack on the Jews Muslim repeats the account in another form (*Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír*, vol. iii, p. 544). Thus the early

> hand possesseth out of the booty which God hath granted thee—Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 49.[1]

Súras al-Ḥadid (lvii), al-Ḥashr (lix), aṣ-Ṣaf (lxi), al-Jamu'a (lxii), at-Taghábun (lxiv) commence as songs of praise and were all delivered about this time to celebrate the subjection of the Jews and the infidels.

We must now go back a little and refer to the most important of the military efforts made by the Prophet. The battle of Badr, though it was not the first of his warlike expeditions, was the greatest of all that had yet been undertaken. Previous to the engagement at Badr the Prophet himself headed four free-booting expeditions and three more were conducted by his lieutenants;[2]

Muslims were taught to believe that this cruel massacre was carried out by the direct order of God

[1] Syed Amír 'Alí says. 'I look upon the story of Raiḥana's becoming a left-handed wife of the Prophet as a fabrication'—(*Life of Muhammad*, p 114) This repudiation of the offence by an author of the high character of Syed Amír 'Alí show the gravity of it, but the fact is well attested, and the commentator Ḥusain, who is most careful and accurate, says that this passage does refer to the slave women 'Safiyya and Raiháná and those like them' He says so distinctly in the words

چون صفیه و ریحانه و امثال ایشان

Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí, vol ii, p. 204

[2] 'During the ten years of his residence at Madína Muḥammad organized thirty-eight military expeditions, and twenty-seven of these he accompanied in person as

but they failed of their object, for the Quraish received little harm and the Muslims gained little or no booty. The only relatively successful expedition was one conducted in the month Rajabu'l-Arab—a month sacred from time immemorial to peace and immunity from tribal attacks. In it a Quraish caravan at Nakhla was attacked and plundered and some prisoners were taken. The victory, however, did not compensate for the fear created in the minds of the Muslims by so daring a violation of Arab custom. At first Muhammad denied that he had given any command for the attack to be made in that month, but as the dismay still prevailed in the hearts of the people a revelation came condoning the offence. Thus:—

> They will ask thee concerning war in the sacred month, say, 'to war therein is bad, but to turn aside from the cause of God, and to have no faith in Him, and in the sacred temple, and to drive out its people is worse in the sight of God, and civil strife is worse than blood shed'—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 214.

Ibn Isháq says this means, 'If you make war in the holy month, they keep you from the way of God, they are unbelievers and debar you from

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chief commander for the furtherance of the cause of Islám'—Ibn Isháq and ibn Hishám quoted by Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 324.

the holy temple. This is more serious before God than the death of some men whom ye have killed.' The Quraish were very angry and said, 'Muḥammad and his companions have desecrated the holy month by shedding blood, seizing goods and making captives in it;' but this violation of the sacred months lost him no followers, for the actors in it retained four-fifths of the plunder for themselves.

These small warlike expeditions provided the booty which was so necessary, for the Muslims were then very poor.[1] They also prepared the way for greater efforts, and in the revelations of this period a distinct advance is made in inculcating the spirit of retaliation and in stirring up a feeling of military ardour. Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) is the latest Meccan one, but the forty-first verse belongs to the Madina period and must have been inserted in this Súra afterwards either by Muhammad himself, or by the compilers of the Qur'án. It refers to the encroachments of the Muslims over the territories of the pagan Arabs:

> See they not that we come into their land and cut short its borders? God pronounceth a doom, and there is none to reverse this doom—Súratu'r Ra'd (xiii) 41.

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[1] For the original authorities in support of this statement, see Margoliouth, *Mohammad*, pp. 234—8.

Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) is most probably a Meccan one, but some verses are clearly of a later date and belong to Madína, such as:

> A sanction is given to those who because they have suffered outrages have taken up arms, and verily God is well able to succour them.
>
> Those who have been driven from their homes wrongfully only because they say, 'Our Lord is the God.' 40—1.

In the second year at Madína Muhammad saw clearly that open war with his countrymen was now unavoidable. So in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) the earliest Madína one, we read:

> War is prescribed for you, but it is hateful to you; yet haply ye hate a thing which is better for you. 212-3.
>
> Fight for the cause of God. 245.

There are in the same Súra verses of a similar character, but they probably belong to a somewhat later period, the time of the first pilgrimage to Mecca in the year, A.H 7, and if so, they refer to the people of Mecca only, and in their case only if they should prove faithless to the treaty of Ḥudaibiyah.[1] The verses are.

> Fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you; but commit not the injustice

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[1] At the time of the first expedition against Mecca (A.H. 6) a treaty was made between them and Muḥammad by which there was to be peace for ten years; tribes

of attacking them first. God loveth not such injustice.

And kill them wherever ye shall find them, **and** eject them from whatever place they **have** ejected you, for civil discord is worse **than** carnage 187-8.

Fight, therefore, against them until there be no more civil discord,[1] and the only worship **be**

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were to be free to join either side, regulations as regards runaways and renegades were made, the Muslims were to depart now, but in the following year an unarmed body of Muslims was to be allowed to make the pilgrimage This is referred to in Súratu'l-Fath (xlviii) 1:

Verily, we have won for thee an undoubted victory.

[1] Rodwell, following Baidawí, interprets this to mean 'their driving you out of Mecca, or, the temptation to idolatry.' Sale translates it 'temptation to idolatry,' and this agrees with the interpretation of the commentator Ḥusain who says that حَتّى لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةٌ 'until there be no more civil discord,' means

تا آن ساعت كه فتنه نه باشد يعنى از شرك اثر نماند

'Until that time when there shall be no tumult, i.e., no sign of polytheism' Baidáwí also interprets it as 'shirk,' or 'polytheism'

Other commentators seem to give it a much wider and more extensive scope. Thus, 'until they become Muslims or pay the poll-tax, do not put the sword in the sheath. Jihad will go on till the day of Judgment'—

جب تلك مسلمان هوں يا جزية نديں تلوار ميان ميں نكرو

الجهاد ماضى الى يوم القيامة

Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír, vol. i, p. 132.

> that of God, but if they desist[1] then let there be no hostility, save against the wicked. 189.

The warlike spirit is also stirred up by a reference to the wars of the children of Israel and of Saul who in one case is confounded with Gideon, showing that Muhammad's knowledge of Old Testament history was very confused. The Israelites are represented as saying:

> Why should we not fight for the religion of God, seeing we are dispossessed of our habitations, and our children are driven forth.
>
> How oft, by God's will, hath a small host vanquished a large host, and God is with the patiently persevering.
>
> Such are the signs of God—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 247, 250, 253.

Thus, just as the small host under Gideon overcame the Midianites, so would the small host of Muslims overcome the Meccans, and such victories were God's signs or witnesses to the truths which His prophets inculcated. In this way and by such teaching Muhammad encouraged his followers.

Thus he justified the command:

> A sanction is given those who, because they have suffered outrages, have taken up arms and verily God is well able to succour them—Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 40.

[1] Baidáwí adds عن الشرك 'from polytheism.'

An argument is based on the fact that as in other religions men had defended their places of worship, so Muslims should do the same

> Those who have been driven out from their homes wrongfully only because they say Our Lord is the God If God had not repelled some men by others cloisters and churches and oratories and mosques wherein the name of God is ever commemorated would surely have been destroyed And him who helpeth God will God surely help—Suratu l Hajj (xxii) 41[1]

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[1] This passage is sometimes quoted to show that jihád or religious war is purely defensive but it is really of local application Muhammad's object was to justify by the example of men of other creeds his resistance to the Quraish and not to lay down a rule of tolerance for all time This is the view of the commentators

مقصود یہ ہی کہ یہودی کے زمانے میں ان کی مسجدیں اور نصارے کے وقت میں ان کی مسجدیں اور اب ہماری مسجدیں مراد ہیں نہ کہ سب کی ہر وقت مقصود ہی

The meaning is this that it refers to the synagogues in the time of the Jews to the churches in the time of the Christians and to our mosques now not that it refers to them all at all times (*Khalásatu t Tafásír* vol iii p 249) The whole passage is said to prove the eternal obligation of jihad — هم پر دائمی فرض هی

Again we read After the abrogation of a religion the retention of its places of worship is in vain (ibid p 218) بعد منسوخی دین انکے عبادتگاہ کا رہنا عبث هی

As Islám is to abrogate all other religions churches and synagogues should also go The apparent tolerance

The Quraish had practically expelled the Muslims from Mecca and this may be said to justify the hostilities, but now the injunction passed beyond that, and war was to be carried on until 'the only worship be that of God,' that is, until the Meccans embraced Islám. The true faith was to be established by the sword. No other forms of religion were to be tolerated at all. Still the people were timid and the 'Hypocrites' were opposed to this war policy Then a little later on Súratu Muhammad (xlvii) was revealed which urges the faithful to fight and threatens the cowards and 'hypocrites' with the terrors of hell. Thus:

> When ye encounter the infidels, strike off their heads, till ye have made a great slaughter amongst them, and of the rest make fast the fetters.
>
> And afterwards let there be either free dismissals, or ransomings till the war hath laid down its arms[1] 4-5.

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of this verse is thus explained away Although the whole Súra is a late Meccan one, Noldeke considers that vv. 39-42 are Madína ones delivered just before the battle of Badr

[1] Nöldeke places Súratu Muḥammad after the battle of Badr. This supports the views of those commentators who take the command to kill as a general injunction to last till the war is over, which will not be till the Second Advent of Jesus Christ and the return of the

Fight then against them till all strife be at an end, and the religion be all of it God s—Súratu l Anfál (viii) 40 [1]

Imám Mahdi according to the tradition Jihád will remain till the day of Judgment

Others say that it is abrogated or that it was revealed before the battle of Badr and so has only a local and limited appl cation This seems to be the view of the Hanífites (Baidáwí vol ii p 321) whilst the Shí ahs are said to fa our the more general iew (*Tafsír i Husaini*, vol ii p 362 *Khalásatu t Tafásír* vol iv p 218) Abbás explains Till the war hath laid down its arms — حتى تضع الحرب أوزارها by Till the infidels discard their polytheism —حتى يترك الكفار اشراكهم—but as he refers the fourth erse to Badr it is not clear whether he gives this fifth verse a local or a general application

[1] فاتلوهم حتى لا تكون فتنة Fight then till all strife be at an end that is according to Husa n till no poly theists remain of the pagans or Jews or Christians *Tafásír i Husaini* vol i p 239

Baidáwí says Till no polythe sm is found in them Abdu lláh ibn Abbás refers it to war aga nst the Mec cans The *Khalásatu t Tafásír* says It gi es an order for permanent jihád —دوام جهاد کا حکم هی—but goes on to say that the order is fard i k faya i e not obligatory on every Muslim It is further said that it is a muhkam verse and so cannot be abrogated

This is a strong comment showing that war with non Muslims is imperative and is to be continuous and that the use of force is justified until the religion be all of it God s — ويكون الدين كله لله

The timid are referred to in the verse:

> The believers say, 'Oh, would that a Súra were sent down, but when a peremptory Súra is revealed, whose burden is war, thou mayest see the diseased of heart look toward thee, with a look of one on whom the shadows of death have fallen.
>
> Be not faint-hearted then: and invite not the infidels to peace when ye have the upper hand —Súratu Muhammad (xlvii) 22, 37.

Thus was the ground prepared and the inhabitants of Madina stirred up to take their part for the first time in an aggressive war. The distress in Madína was very great at this time, and supplies had to be obtained from some source.[1] The immediate cause of the battle of Badr (A.D. 624) was the desire of Muhammad to capture a rich caravan known to be on its way from Syria to Mecca.[2] It was escorted by about forty armed men. Addressing his followers Muhammad said: 'Let us take it by surprise,

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[1] For the original authorities on this point, see Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, pp. 234—8.

[2] In order to show that hostilities against the Meccans were justified this revelation came:

> God doth not forbid you to deal with kindness and fairness toward those who have not made war upon you on account of your religion, or driven you forth from your home—Súratu'l-Mumtahina (lx) 8.

perhaps Heaven has given us this booty.' A body of three hundred and forty-seven men went forth on this looting expedition. The Ansár were under no liability to go forth to fight, for in the first pledge of 'Aqabá, made when Muhammad was first invited to Madína, no condition as regards fighting was laid down. But now attachment to his cause, devotion to his person, the love of adventure and the desire for plunder led many Ansár to volunteer their services On hearing of the danger the caravan was in, a large body of men set out from Mecca for its protection and it was with this relieving force that the battle of Badr was fought This uncalled-for aggression on the part of Muhammad has been apologized for on the ground that the Meccans made a raid against Madína. This is not the case. They came out solely to protect their property. The night before the battle it rained a little and Muhammad dreamed that his enemies were few in number. Both incidents are referred to in the Qur'án:

> When sleep, a sign of security from Him, fell upon you and He sent down upon you water from heaven that He might cleanse you, and cause the pollution of Satan to pass from you.

> Remember, when God showed them to thee in thy dream as few; had He shown them

> numerous, ye would certainly have become faint-hearted, and would certainly have disputed about the matter; but from this God kept you—Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 11, 45).

The Quraish were utterly beaten and many prisoners were cruelly murdered by the Muslims. The booty was very large and the division of it led to much dispute. A beautiful red vestment disappeared and some of the Munáfiqún said that Muhammad had taken it, but this charge was rebutted by a special revelation.

> It is not for the Prophet to cheat[1]—Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 155.

The Traditionist Ráwí says[2] that to clear the Prophet of the imputation cast upon him this verse came:

> Shall he who hath followed the good pleasure of God be as he who hath brought upon himself wrath from God—Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 156.

In order to put an end to the murmuring about the division of the spoil, the will of God

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[1] وَمَا كَانَ لِنَبِيٍّ أَنْ يَغُلَّ The Qáris (Qur'án Readers) Náfi', Ibn 'Amir, Hamza, Yaqúb and al-Kisá'í support another reading—أَنْ يُغَلَّ, that is, the verb is passive and means 'it is not proper for the Prophet to be cheated' —Baidáwí, vol. ii, p. 182.

[2] *Táríkh-i-Wáqidí*, p. 242.

was indicated in the following verses which were now revealed:

> They will question thee about the spoils; say, the spoils are God's and the Apostle's. Therefore, fear God and settle this among yourselves, and obey God and His Apostle, if ye are believers—Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 1.

Having thus laid down his absolute right to the booty, the Prophet somewhat modifies the claim and says:

> When ye have taken any booty, a fifth part belongeth to God and to the Apostle, and to the near of kin, and to the orphans, and to the poor and to the wayfarer, if ye believe in God and in that which we have sent down to our servant on the day of victory,[1] the day of the meeting of the hosts—Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 42.

This is the law of Islám on the subject to the present day.

The victory of Badr was needed to strengthen Muhammad's position in Madína, which had now become much weakened by the small success of his previous warlike expeditions and no efforts were now spared to attribute this great success

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[1] All commentators refer this to the victory at Badr called the يَوْمَ الفُرْقَانِ. This phrase is translated as 'day of grace,' 'day of victory,' 'day of destruction,' 'day of Badr in which was the separation of the good from the evil'—روز بدر كه جدا شدن حق از باطل درو بود

to miraculous intervention on the part of God. Thus.

> When ye sought succour of your Lord, He answered you 'I will verily aid you with a thousand angels, rank on rank [1] And God made this promise as pure good tidings and to assure your hearts by it for succour cometh from God alone [2]—Suratu l Anfál (viii) 9 10

Later on this aid is referred to as a support to the Prophet s claim and as an encouragement and a warning to his followers

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Rabbi Geiger shows that فرقان is derived from the Rabbinical Hebrew word פרקן and means deliverance 'redemption and applies it in Suratu l Baqara (ii) 181 to the month of Ramadán as the month of deliverance from sin and not as is usually done to the Qur an as that which illuminates and distinguishes

See Geiger *Judaism and Islám* p 41 and Rodwell s translation of the Qur án p 176 Note i

Husain interprets the word فرقان thus

الفرقان - ار حدود و احکام و سائر شرائع دین که جدا کننده است میان حق و باطل

that is The laws regulations and all the laws of religion which separate the good from the evil —*Tafsir i Husaini* vol i p 30

[1] In a later Sura this number grew to three thousand — Suratu Ali Imrán (iii) 128

[2] Baidáwí says that it is uncertain whether this is addressed to the Quraish or the Jews or the believers in Madína Abbás says it refers to the men of Mecca or of Madína

Ye have already had a sign,[1] in the meeting of the two hosts. The one host fought in the cause of God and the other was infidel To their own eyesight the infidels saw you twice as many as themselves,[2] and God aids with His succour whom He wishes And in this there is indeed a warning to those who have perception—Suratu Ali Imrán (iii) 11

It was not ye who slew them, but God slew them, and the shafts were God s not thine—Suratu l Anfál (viii) 17

Those who gave up their lives are spoken of as martyrs for God s cause

Say not of those who are slain on God s path that they are dead nay they are living—Suratu l Baqara (ii) 149 [3]

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[1] That is in the battle of Badr there was a clear sign of the prophetship of Muhammad Thus Husain says of the words كان لكم اية — To you was a sign

شما را علامتی و نشانی درست بر نبوت محمد

To you was a mark and good sign of the prophetship of Muhammad —*Tafsir i Husaini* vol i p 71

[2] In Suratu l Anfál (viii) 46 the Muslims were said to be diminished in the eyes of the Meccans The commentators admit the discrepancy and try to reconcile the statements by making the statement in Suratu Ali Imrán (iii) 11 succeed the one in Suratu l Anfál (viii) 46 See Wherry on this subject *Commentary* vol ii p 7

[3] وَلَا تَقُولُوا لِمَن يُقْتَلُ فِي سَبِيلِ اللّٰهِ أَمْوَاتًا بَلْ أَحْيَاءٌ

Some of the Muhájirún, who had lost old Meccan relatives and friends in the conflict, saw that their kinsmen among the captives were sad. This feeling was strong amongst the women. Then this rebuke came:

> O ye who believe, verily, in your wives and your children ye have an enemy;[1] wherefore, beware of them—Súratu't-Taghábun (lxiv) 14.

It is uncertain whether this verse refers to the battle of Badr or of Uhud. The commentator Ḥusain says:
در روز بدر جان شیرین بداد و از نعمت حیات و لذت نعیم دنیا محروم شد

'In the day of Badr they gave their sweet life and were separated from the gift of life and the pleasant taste of the world.'

'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás says the expression, 'slain on God's path' means 'slain in the obedience of God, in the day of Badr'—فی طاعت الله یوم بدر

A tradition recorded on the authority of Muslim states: 'That the souls of martyrs in the presence of God enter into the bodies of green birds which wander about in Paradise and roost near the lamps around the throne of God'—(*Khalásatu't Tafásír*, vol. i, p. 96.) This is also recorded on the authority of ibn 'Abbás in the *Táríkhu'l-Wáqidí*, p 242, with other traditions concerning the blessed state of the martyrs.

[1] Baiḍáwí explains this as beguiling them from their obedience to God and from the duties of religion. Some commentators say it refers to the migration from Mecca which was not popular with certain families among the converts.

In the week following the battle of Badr, two of the most prominent offenders, Abú 'Afak and ibn 'Auf were assassinated. Men then criticized in private, but that was very soon forbidden:

> Hast thou not marked those who have been forbidden secret talk, and return to what they have been forbidden, and talk privately with wickedness and hate and disobedience toward the Apostle—Súratu'l-Mujádila (lviii) 9.

The victory was gained by an inferior over a superior force, and the Quraish lost men who had been the Prophet's determined foes, and so the idea of divine interposition seemed quite a natural explanation. It placed the Prophet in a position of security for the time, and enabled him, as we have seen, to carry out his policy, more fully developed after the battle of Badr, of entirely subduing the Jewish tribes for whose aid he had now no further need. The value of the spoils and of the ransoms of the prisoners proved most acceptable to the Muhájirún who thus became independent of the Ansar Prisoners who were too poor to pay a ransom in money did it by giving writing lessons, an art now fully appreciated by Muhammad. [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 282-3.] The victory also made a great impression on the Bedouin tribes and caused them to become more inclined to come to terms with

one who stood before them as a leader of a victorious military force. For the Prophet they cared little, but a successful warrior claimed their attention and respect. The claim to divine support when a victory was gained also increased the prestige and power of the Prophet; but it was a dangerous assertion to make, or policy to follow, for when defeat came, the conclusion naturally drawn was that God had forsaken him. This is what actually occurred later on.

About a year after the battle of Badr, the Quraish smarting under the defeat determined to make another great effort to overcome their opponents They collected a comparatively large army and in the spring of A D. 625 drew near to Madína. The immediate reason for this was that Muhammad continued his plundering expeditions. The merchants of Mecca found that their trade was in great danger. The ordinary western route to Syria was unsafe and so they sent a rich caravan by the eastern one. The news of the change of route reached Muhammad and he at once sent a band of a hundred horsemen in pursuit of it. The raid was successful and the merchandise and all who were in charge of it were brought to Madína. It was now clear either that the Muslims did not wish for peace, or that the Arab love of looting could not be controlled. The Meccans had to

fight for their very existence as a commercial community and for freedom to carry on their daily business. The Meccans were fully justified now in taking vigorous action. The immediate cause of the battle of Badr was Muhammad's attempt to capture a caravan, that of Uḥud his successful seizure of one. Muhammad wisely wished to act on the defensive, but was overborne by the younger and more ardent of his followers, who represented to him that the Bedouin tribes, now beginning to be impressed with a sense of his power, would set down a defensive attitude to cowardice, and that doubt would also be cast on his previous claims to supernatural aid in times of danger. This had been so strongly urged as a proof of the divine nature of his mission that any action now, implying distrust in its recurrence, would be fatal to his prestige. So he gave way and agreed to give battle to the Quraish, saying, 'If ye be steadfast, the Lord will grant you the victory.'

Many single combats were fought, but when both sides became generally engaged the result was a very severe defeat for the Muslim forces. The Prophet himself also was badly wounded. This made him angry and he said: 'How shall the people prosper that have treated thus their Prophet, who calleth them unto their Lord. Let the wrath of God burn against the men that have

sprinkled the face of His Apostle with blood [1] The Quraish satisfied with the victory at Uhud did not follow up their success but retired to Mecca Thus ended the battle of Uhud

Tradition has raised the rank of the Muslims who fell at this battle to the position of martyrs, but the immediate effect of the defeat was most disastrous [2] The victory at Badr had been made

[1] Wáqidi quoted in Muir s *Life of Mahomet* vol iii, p 175

[2] The Quraish took advantage of th s spirit of depres sion and attempted to seduce the Musl ms to renounce their faith in the Prophet but he was qu te equal to the occasion

> O ye who have believed ! if ye obey the infidels they will cause you to turn upon your heels and ye will fall back into perd tion Suratu Ali Imrán (iii) 142

Husain says that it was the Munáfiqun wl o said to the true Muslims that the time of the Prophet had passed away that the infidels had regained power and that they should again turn b ck to their own old religion

منافقان مومنانرا می گفتند که این زمان پیغمبر گذشته شد و رایت دولت کفار استیلا یافت شما را دیگر باره بدین خود رجوع باید کرد — *Tafsir i Husaini* p 75

Baidáwí says it refers to the Munáfiqun who said ارجعوا الى اخوانكم ودينكم ولو كان محمد نبيًّا لما قتل

Return to your brethren and your religion if Muhammad had been a prophet he would not have been slain —vol i p 179

the occasion of so great a claim to divine assistance that this defeat at Uḥud naturally led to the idea that God had now forsaken the cause. The Jews indeed adroitly used this argument and said: 'How can Muhammad pretend to be anything more than an aspirant to the *kingly* office? No true claimant of the *prophetic* dignity hath ever been beaten on the field, or suffered loss in his own person and that of his followers, as he hath.'[1] It required all the skill and address of the Prophet to meet the objections of the Jews and to remove the latent doubt in the minds of some of his followers. This he did by a very skilful production of revelations to explain that the defeat at Uhud was due partly to their own dissensions, partly to disobedience to orders and their desire for personal safety. Thus he says:

> Already had God made good to you His promise, when by His permission ye destroyed your foes, until your courage failed you and ye *disputed about the order*[2] *and disobeyed*, after that the Prophet had brought you within view of that for which ye longed.

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[1] Wáqidi, quoted in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii, p. 189.

[2] حکم رسول کے یا حکم سردار کے عبد الله بن جبیر— 'Order of the Prophet or order of the chief 'Abdu'lláh bin Jabír'—*Khalásatu't-Tafásir*, vol. i, p. 311.

> Some of you were for this world and some for the next.[1] Then, in order to make trial of you, He turned you to flight from them—Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 145–6.

The defeat was said to have been sent as a test of their sincerity and of the soundness of their belief. Thus:

> If a wound hath befallen you, a wound like it hath already befallen others.[2] We alternate these days of success and reverses amongst men that God may know those who have believed, and that He may take martyrs from among you; but God loveth not them that do injury [3]
>
> And that God may test those who believe and destroy the infidels—Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 134–5.
>
> That which befell you on the day when the armies met was certainly by the will of God, and that He might know the faithful and that He might know the hypocrites—Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 160.[4]

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[1] Baidáwí says. 'Some left their stations for plunder; some kept their places, observing the command of the Prophet'—vol. i, p 180.

[2] Baiḍáwí, explains this thus: 'If they overcame you at Uhud, you overcame them at Badr'—vol. i, p. 177.

[3] Baiḍáwí says 'God does not really help the unbelievers but gives them the victory sometimes to tempt them and to try the believers'—vol. i, p. 177.

[4] Baiḍáwí explains this verse thus: 'the day, that of Uḥud; the armies are those of the Muslims and the

With regard to the taunt of the Jews, a revelation came to show that other prophets had suffered reverses and that Muḥammad was no exception to this rule:

> Muḥammad is no more than an apostle: other apostles have already passed away before him; if he die, therefore, or be slain, will ye turn upon your heels? But he who turneth on his heels shall not injure God at all; and God will certainly reward the thankful.
>
> No one can die except by God's permission, written down for an appointed time.[1]—Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 138—9.

Meccans the will of God, this ordinance or the leaving of the believers free, and all this that he might discriminate between the true Believers and the Hypocrites' —vol i, p. 183.

[1] These verses refer to the supposed death of Muhammad at the battle of Uhud, and the argument is that even had it been so they should not depart from Islám. Other apostles had passed away, but their religions remained. The traditionists relate that when Muhammad fell to the ground wounded, the believers cried out 'What if Muḥammad be dead! the Lord dieth not and verily His Apostle hath finished his work. Fight on for your Faith' But the Munáfiqún said, 'Since Muhammad is dead let us go back to our homes' (Wáqidi, quoted by Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii, p. 173) Baidáwí says that Mus'ab bin 'Umair, the Prophet's standard-bearer, was slain by ibn Qami'a, who thinking he had slain the Prophet said: 'I have slain Muḥammad,' at which his followers took to flight

> How many a prophet have myriads,[1] fought with, yet they fainted not at what befell them on the path of God, nor were they weakened, nor did they make themselves abject, and God loveth the persevering—Súratu Álı 'Imrán (iii) 140.

The doctrine of predestination and the power of Satanic influence are also urged as an explanation:

> If God help you none can overcome you, but if He abandon you, who is he that shall help you thereafter? In God then let the faithful trust —Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 154.

The meaning of this is, according to Baidáwi, if God helps you as He did at Badr you can

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till recalled by the Prophet's voice, saying, 'Servants of God, to me' Some of the Munáfiqún said 'Had he been a prophet he had not been killed, return to your brethren and your religion.' See 'Abdu'l-Qádir's note to his translation of these verses of the Qur'án, and also the *Tafsír-i-Husainí*, vol i, p 85

When Muhammad died, many could not believe it and it is said that Abú Bakr then quoted these verses in order to convince 'Umar and others that the Prophet was really dead. Some say that Abú Bakr composed them then for this purpose and afterwards got them inserted in the Qur'án. This is not at all likely

[1] Another meaning of the word translated 'myriads' is learned, pious men, rabbis. The Arabic verse is.

وَكَأَيِّنْ مِنْ نَبِيٍّ قَتَلَ مَعَهُ رِبِّيُّونَ كَثِيرٌ

The commentator Muhaddith translates this verse by

conquer; if He leaves you as He did at Uḥud you will be beaten.

No one can die except by God's permission, written down for an appointed time.[1]

بسا پیغامبر کہ قتال کردند کفار ہمراہ او خدا پرستان بسیار

'Many a prophet has killed infidels and with him were many pious men.'

'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás says: رِبِّيُّونَ كَثِيرٌ—'myriads' is جموع كثير—'great crowd.' Ḥusain says the words mean فراوان سپاہ—'an abundant force.'

The *Khalásatu't-Tafásír* has 'Before Muhammad there have been prophets, with whom pious men fought (i.e., aided them)'—vol. i, p. 308.

آپ سے پہلے پیغمبر گزرے جن کے ساتھ اللہ والے لڑے

The Qárís ibn Kathír, Náfi', 'Abú 'Amr and Ya'qúb read قُتِلَ, 'was fought, or was killed,' for قَاتَلَ, 'fought or killed.' There is another reading قُتِّلَ, 'were killed.' Baidáwí says قُتِلَ (qutila) 'was slain' may refer to the myriads, or to the Prophet. If these readings, which are given by Baidáwí are adopted, the meaning seems to be in the first case, 'How many a prophet has been slain when pious men were with him': in the second case, 'How many a prophet have pious men been slain with.' The meaning of the verse then seems to be not the idea of a prophet fighting against myriads, but of pious men fighting alongside the prophet and killing the enemy, or being killed with him, or his being killed while they were with him.

[1] The Traditionist Ráwí says that Satan assuming a human form cried out, 'Muḥammad is dead' and then the

Of a truth it was Satan who caused those of you to fail in duty who turned back when the hosts met—Súratu Áli Imrán (iii) 139, 149[1]

No accident befalls on the earth or on yourselves, but it was in the Book (of eternal decrees) before we created them—Suratu l Hadíd (lvii) 22[2]

But after all those who had been killed had gained a great reward they were now martyrs, blessed in the realms above

Repute not those slain on God s path to be dead. Nay alive with their Lord are they richly sustained [3]

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companions dispersed on every side—*Tárikhu l Wáqidi* p 289

[1] Baidáwí says They disobeyed the Apostle in leaving their posts and hastening after the booty —vol i p 181

[2] This is said by Noldeke to have been revealed at a period when Muhammad was in distress and this leads him to place the whole Sura after the battle of Uhud The Muslim commentators do not interpret the verse as if it applied to any special occasion but give it a general meaning Husain says it refers to famines loss of property sickness and poverty all of which are decreed in the Preserved Tablet (لوح محفوظ) (*Tafsír i Husainí* vol ii p 381) But the object of the Sura is to stir up the faithful to zeal and energy The Lord is the Mighty and Wise the First and the Last the Creator and Ruler of all who rewards faithful service who punishes all defections It is thus most suitable to a period of depression and anxiety such as followed the defeat at Uhud

[3] Wonderful accounts are given in the traditions of the

> Rejoicing in what God of His bounty hath vouchsafed them, filled with joy for those who follow after them, but have not as yet overtaken them; because no fear shall come upon them, nor shall they be grieved. . . .
>
> Filled with joy at the favours of God and at His bounty, and that God suffereth not the reward of the righteous to perish—Súratu Ál 'Imrán (iii) 163—5.

There is rather an obscure verse at the end of the third Súra which may be intended to show that, though the Meccans had freedom sufficient to be able to carry on trade and were generally independent after the battle of Uḥud, the Prophet should not be disheartened nor led astray by it:

> Let not the coming and going of the infidels in

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felicity of the martyrs in Paradise. The Prophet is reported to have said of them:

جب مؤمنین احد میں شہید ہوے الله تعالی کے اون کی روح سبز جڑیوں کے بدنوں میں کردی جو جنت کی نہروں اور میووں سے کہاتے پیتے ہیں

'When believers were martyrs at Uhud the most High God put their souls into the bodies of green birds which eat and drink of the fruits and rivers of Paradise'—*Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír*, vol i, pp. 320—1.

The commentator Mu'alim says this verse refers to the men who fell at Badr, and not to the Uhud martyrs Baidáwí says. 'some refer the passage to those slain at Badr, others to those killed at Uhud. The person addressed is either the Prophet or each individual'—vol. i, p. 184.

> cities deceive thee. It is but a little benefit. Afterwards Hell is their abode and bad the bed—Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 196.[1]

It seems clear that the defeat of the Muslims at Uhud had been so complete that the pagan Arabs were able to live at ease and to pursue their ordinary avocations without fear. This was disheartening to Muhammad and his followers and so this revelation came to cheer them.

Súratu Áli 'Imrán[2] is full of the subject and shows how important a crisis the Prophet felt

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[1] لَا يَغُرَّنَّكَ تَقَلُّبُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فِي الْبِلَادِ مَتَاعٌ قَلِيلٌ ثُمَّ مَأْوَاهُمْ جَهَنَّمُ وَبِئْسَ الْمِهَادُ

The commentator 'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás says. 'The coming and going of the infidels in the cities,' means 'The going to and fro of Jews and infidels in mercantile pursuits.'—ذهاب اليهود والمشركين فى تجارة

The commentator Husain says. 'Let not the coming and going of the infidels in their cities for trade deceive thee.'—باید که فریب ندهد ترا رفتن و آمدن کافران در شهرها برای تجارت—*Tafsír-i-Husainí*, vol. i, p 95

Baidáwí says it means, 'Look not at the ease and good fortune which the unbelievers enjoy, and do not be mislead by their prosperity in their traffic and merchandise and agriculture'—vol. i, p. 192.

[2] This Súra was highly valued by the Prophet. It is recorded that he said: 'Whoso reads this Súra of the family of 'Imrán shall for each verse receive a safe-conduct over the bridge of Gehenna.' 'Whoso reads on

it to be, and how great were the pains he took to avert in Madína itself the danger to which the defeat might have led. It is also a remarkable instance of the way in which opportune revelations came to support and sustain the people, when disheartened at the adverse turn their circumstances had taken. It is clear that the Prophet himself soon became hopeful again, for soon after he rebuked those who turned their backs to the enemy at Uhud,[1] and speaks with certainty of the final and complete victory of Islám which is to be the one and only universal religion.

> He it is who hath sent His Apostle with guidance and the religion of truth that, though they hate it who join other gods with God, He may make it victorious over every other religion[2]—Súratu's-Saff (lxi) 9.

The final conclusion to the whole matter is a

Friday this Súra in which 'Imrán is mentioned, God and His angels shall be gracious unto him until the sun goes down'—Baidáwí, vol. i, p 193

[1] Súratu's-Ṣaff (lxi) 2—4.

[2] The commentator Husain interprets the last clause to mean that the full success of Islám will be coincident with the second advent of Jesus Christ.

تا غالب گرداند این دین را به همه کیش و ملت بوقت
نزول عیسی که همه اهل زمین دین اسلام قبول کنند

'That this religion may conquer all religions and sects

verse which the commentator Husain interprets as having a reference to war and conflict [1]

> O ye who believe! be patient and vie in patience and be firm and fear God that it may be well with you—Suratu Ali Imrán (iii) 200

The result of all the Prophet's explanations was that he did not by this defeat lose a single convert nor damage his reputation

After the battle of Uhud [2] the two armies parted with the mutual threat Next year we shall meet again at Badr The Quraish started out when the time came round with a considerable force to fulfil their portion of the compact but a severe drought drove them back to Mecca

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when Jesus comes when all the men in the world will accept Islám —*Tafsír i Husainí* vol ii p 400

Another writer says

اس آیت میں اشارہ ہی کہ اسلام ناسخ ادیان ہی

It is shown in this verse that Islám abrogates all religions —*Khalásatu t Tafásír* vol v p 432

Baidáwi says لیغلبه علی جمیع الادیان means That it may conquer all religions —vol ii p 331

[1] It may refer to control over passions and evil but both interpretations are given by Baidáwí Abdu lláh bin Abbas and other commentators The warlike one is given by all and as the verse occurs in a Súra so full of the battle of Uhud this interpretation is probable

[2] Some Muslims now suggested an alliance with Jews

so when Muhammad with his men arrived they found no enemy. They stayed at Badr eight days and sold their goods at a large profit. This happy ending to what might have been a serious and bloody conflict called for a special revelation:

> As to those who, after the reverse[1] which befel them, respond to God and His Apostle—such of them as do good works and fear God shall have a great reward;
>
> Who, when men say to them, 'Now are the Meccans mustering against you; therefore fear them,' it only increased their faith, and they said, 'Our sufficiency is God, and He is an excellent Protector.'
>
> They returned,[2] therefore, with the favour of God, enriched by Him[3] and untouched by harm;

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and Christians, but this revelation came later on and no such alliance was ever made

> O believers, take not Jews or Christians as friends. They are but one another's friends. If any of you taketh them for his friends he is surely one of them, God will not guide the evil-doers—Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 56.

This is quite inconsistent with the fifty-third verse of this same Súra

> And if God had pleased He had made you all of one people, but He would test you by what He hath given to each.

See also Wherry's note on this verse, vol. ii, p. 137.

[1] i.e., the defeat at Uḥud [2] From Badr.

[3] Either by the booty secured, or else, according to

and they followed what was well pleasing to God, and He is of mighty munificence.[1]
Verily that devil[2] would cause you to fear his friends: fear them not, but fear me if ye are believers—Súratu Ál-i 'Imrán (iii) 166—9.

Other expeditions against certain tribes followed, none of which are of any special interest, except that in one, the 'Salátu'l-Khauf,' or the regulation for prayers in times of danger, was instituted. One division of the army watched while the other prayed.[3] The Qur'án had now become the medium through which the warlike news and military orders—all direct communications from God—are announced.

Sometimes certain revelations also came to justify the actions of the Prophet in his domestic life. Those in connexion with events which *happened about this time at Madína will serve*

Baidáwí, because they found a fair there and gained much money by merchandise—Baidáwí, vol. i, p 175.

[1] In confirming and increasing their faith and in aiding them to hasten to the fray, and also to remain in their religion and to display courage before the enemy—Baidáwí, vol i, p 175.

[2] There is some doubt as to whom this term applies. The commentators ibn 'Abbas and Baidáwí say it is Nu'aim, who tried to frighten the Muslims, or Abú Sufyán, the leader of the Quraish.

[3] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 102—3. For a fuller account of this, see Sell's *Faith of Islám* (ed. 3rd), p. 314.

as an illustration, and may be conveniently mentioned here, though they actually occurred later on, in the year A.D. 626, and after the battle of Uhud The story goes that, on visiting the house of Zaid, his adopted son, Muhammad was struck with the beauty of his wife, Zainab. Zaid offered to divorce her, but Muhammad said to him, 'keep thy wife to thyself and fear God.' Zaid now proceeded with the divorce, though from the implied rebuke in the thirty-sixth verse of Súratu'l-Ahzáb (xxxiii) he seems to doubt the propriety of his action. In ordinary cases this would have removed any difficulty as regards the marriage of Zainab and Muhammad, and little or no scandal would have followed , but the marriage of a man with the wife of his adopted son, even though divorced, was looked upon by the Arabs as a very wrong thing indeed. However, Muhammad did this, and had to justify his action by alleging that he had for it the direct sanction of God. It was first necessary to show that God did not approve of the general objection to marriage with wives of adopted sons, and so the revelation came thus:

> Nor hath He made your adopted sons to be as your sons—Súratu'l-Ahzáb (xxxiii) 4.

According to Arab custom and usage Zaid was to Muhammad 'as his son,' but in Islám such a view was by divine command to be set aside.

Having thus settled the general principle, the way was clear for Muhammad to act in this particular case, and to claim divine sanction for setting at nought the sentiment of the Arab people. So the revelation goes on to say:

> And remember when thou (i.e., Muhammad) said to him (i.e., Zaid) unto whom God had shown favour[1] and to whom thou also hadst shown favour,[2] 'Keep thy wife to thyself and fear God,' and thou didst hide in thy mind what God would bring to light and thou didst fear man,[3] but more right had it been to fear

[1] In allowing him to become a Muslim.

[2] In adopting him as a son

[3] Both in the *Tafsír-i-Husainí*, and the *Sahíhu'l-Bukhárí*, it is stated that the words, 'God would bring to light,' refer to the fact that Zainab would become Muhammad's wife, and also that the words, 'thou didst fear man,' have reference to the fear Muhammad felt at breaking through a custom held in such esteem by the Arabs, that is, the refraining from marrying the wife of an adopted son Thus Bukhárí says

وَتُخْفِي فِي نَفْسِكَ مَا اللهُ مُبْدِيهِ نزلت في شأن ابنة جحش
و زيد بن حارثة

'Thou didst hide in thy heart that which God would bring to light in the matter of the daughter of Jahsh and Zaid bin Háritha'—*Sahíhu'l-Bukhárí*, vol iii, p 312.

Husain says

وَتُخْفِي فِي نَفْسِكَ و پنهان ميكردى در نفس خود مَا اللهُ
مُبْدِيهِ الهه خدا پيدا كننده آن است يعنى آنرا كه زينب داخل

> **God.[1] And when Zaid had settled to divorce her, we married her to thee, that it might not be a crime in the faithful to marry the wives of their adopted sons when they have settled the affairs concerning them. And the order of God is to be performed.**
>
> No blame attaches to the Prophet where God hath given him a permission—Súratu'l-Ahzáb (xxxiii) 37—8.

This relaxation of the moral law for Muhammad's benefit, because he was a prophet, shows how very easy the divorce between religion and morality becomes in Islám.

Another difficulty was that Zainab was the daughter of Jahsh, the daughter of his aunt Amíma, who was the daughter of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib.[2] A fresh revelation, however, by bestowing upon the Prophet a special and peculiar privilege, not accorded to his followers, removed the difficulty:

> O Prophet, we have allowed thee thy wives

ازواج طیبات تو خواهد بود و تَخْشَى النَّاسَ و بترسیدی از سرزنش مردم که گوید زن پسر خوانده را بخواست

'And didst conceal in thy heart that which God made plain, and that is, that Zainab should join the company of the excellent wives, and didst fear the reproach of men who said, "He has asked for the wife of an adopted son"'—*Tafsír-i-Husainí*, vol ii, p 201

[1] i e to have had no hesitation in the matter.

[2] Baiḍáwí, vol. ii, p. 129.

> whom thou hast dowered and the slaves whom thy right hand possesseth out of the booty[1] God hath granted thee, and the daughters[2] of thy uncle and of thy paternal and maternal aunts who fled with thee (from Mecca), and any believing woman[3] who hath given herself up to the Prophet, if the Prophet desireth to take her—a privilege for thee above the rest of the faithful—Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 49.

Zainab and her husband did not encourage the suit of the Prophet, and are thus reprimanded by the alleged command of God in the revelation :

> And it is not for a believer, man or woman, to have any choice in their affairs *when God and His Apostle have decreed a matter*, and

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[1] The reference to slaves fixes the date of this verse after the massacre of the Bani Quraiza (A D 627), when Raiḥána, the first captured slave, was taken as a concubine. It is thus later than the affair with Zainab (A.D. 626) and is intended to justify what had already taken place

[2] This removes from the Prophet the restriction placed on other Muslims in Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 27 in which marriage with near relatives is forbidden

[3] Ḥusain refers this to Zainab in his comment on the words بنت عمّتك 'daughter of thy paternal aunt.' This he explains as دختران عمهای تو از اولاد عبد المطلب 'daughter of thy paternal aunt, one of the children of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib'—vol. ii, p 204.

whoever disobeyeth God and His Apostle erreth with palpable error—Súratu'l-Aḥbáz (xxxiii) 36.[1]

This settled the matter, and the marriage with Zainab was thus declared to be legal and right. Zaid was no longer spoken of as the son of Muhammad, but as Zaid ibn Ḥáritha—son of Háritha.

This same Súra contains a verse which prohibits Muhammad's adding to the nine wives he already possessed, but permits him to have as many concubines as he pleased—'slaves whom

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[1] The commentators are unanimous in referring this verse to Zaid and Zainab. Thus

ترمذی اور معالم اور دوسری تفاسیر مین مروی هی که آیت
زینب کے حق نازل هوی

'In the commentaries of Tirmidhi, Mu'álim and others it is related that this verse came down in connexion with Zainab'—*Khalásatu't-Tafásír*, vol iii, p 559. Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás says لموءمن زید لا موءمنة زینب

'Believer is Zaid, believer (woman) is Zainab'—'Tafsír-i-ibn 'Abbás,' p 484

Baidáwí states that it was revealed in the matter of Zainab bint Jaḥsh—vol ii, p. 129 نزل فی زینب بنت جحش

Ḥusain also says it refers to Zainab—*Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí*, vol. ii, p. 201.

On the expression 'whosoever disobeyeth God and His Apostle,' Ḥusain makes this important statement

thy right hand shall possess,'[1] but into this matter we need not go. The limitation to four wives, excluding concubines, in the case of ordinary Muslims is to be found in the third verse of Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv), revealed about the fourth or fifth year of the Hijra, and earlier than the passage in which Muhammad is limited to nine wives

About this time Muhammad made a small expedition against an Arab tribe, the Bani Mustalíq, which is of interest on account of a scandal regarding 'Áyesha, who accompanied her husband and which lead to a special revelation. On the march she loitered behind and finally came into camp escorted by a youth, named Safwán bin Mu'attal. Her excuse was that she stayed

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which shows the co-ordinate authority of the Sunnat and the Qur'án

وَمَنْ يَعْصِ اللّٰهَ وَرَسُولَهُ و هرکه عاصی شود و مخالفت کند

خدای تعالی و رسول اورا یا از حکم کتاب و سنت بگذرد

'He who is disobedient and opposes God and His Apostle, or who departs from the order of the Book (Qur'án) and of the Sunnat'—vol ii, p. 207.

[1] Súratu'l-Ahzáb (xxxiii) 52. It is said to be abrogated by the preceding verses See Sale's note on this verse and the *Khalásatu't-Tafásír*, vol. iii, p 578, but the latter gives no authority for the statement it makes, so the abrogation is doubtful

behind to find a lost necklace. There were scandal-mongers present who made improper remarks about this. Then came the verse:

> Of a truth, they who advanced that he were a large number of you—Súratu'n-Núr (xxiv) 11.

The commentators Ḥusain, ibn Ábbás and also Baiḍáwí say the verse refers to 'Ayesha The occasion gave rise to this Súra, delivered after the return to Madina, and with verse nineteen of Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) forms the Prophet's denunciation of fornication and gives the law regarding it. There is a Tradition to the effect that the Khalífa 'Umar said that the punishment originally was that of stoning, now held to be abrogated by Súratu'n-Núr (xxiv) 1—4 In any case the 'verse of stoning' was not inserted in Zaid's recension of the Qur'án.

Somewhat later on, about the eighth or ninth year of the Hijra, we have another revelation connected with a domestic affair Sometime before this the Roman Governor of Egypt had presented Muhammad with a Coptic slave girl of great beauty, who in due course bore a son named Ibráhím. This led to great jealousy amongst the wives of the Prophet Muhammad was annoyed because his wife Ḥafasa revealed to one of his other wives, named 'Áyesha, some scandal which he had solemnly charged her to keep secret. The family disturbance increased

and, at last, Muhammad had to get a divine sanction for his conduct with Mary the Copt.[1] This he did in the following passage which approves of his action, and releases him from an oath he had taken to please and pacify his wives:

> O Prophet! wherefore dost thou prohibit what God hath made lawful to thee, craving to please thy wives, but God is forgiving, compassionate. God hath allowed you release from your oaths and God is your master—Súratu't-Tahrím (lxvi), 1—2.

In the fifth year of the Hijra the Quraish made another great effort and laid siege to Madína It was called the war of the Confederates, on account of the various tribes of Arabs and of the number of Jews who assisted the Meccans. The Jews had already begun to feel the heavy hand of Muhammad upon them, and saw that their only chance of a peaceful life lay in friendship with the Quraish rather than with Muhammad. This annoyed the Prophet and he thus reproached them:

> Hast thou not observed those to whom a part of the Scriptures have been given, they believe in ul-Jibt and at-Ţághút and say of the infidels, 'these are guided in a better path than

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[1] For further details see Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv, pp. 152—167, and *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 411.

those who hold the faith'—Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 54.

As the siege progressed some of the Muslims became disheartened. The account of it is given in Súratu'l-Ahzáb (xxxiii) and its terrors are thus depicted:

> When they assailed you from above you and from below you, and when your eyes became distracted, and your hearts came up into your throat, and ye thought divers thoughts of God,
>
> Then were the faithful tried, and with strong quaking did they quake—Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 10—11.

Muḥammad now seemed weak and helpless, and the people, doubting his promise of divine aid, wished to retire from the outer defensive works into the city. They were rebuked in a revelation recorded in the same Súra thus:

> When the disaffected and the diseased of heart said, 'God and His Apostle have made us but a cheating promise.'
>
> And when a party of them said, 'O men of Yathrib (Madina)! This is no place of safety for you here; therefore return into the city.' And another party of you asked the Prophet's leave to return, saying, 'Our houses are left defenceless.' No! they were not left defenceless but their sole thought was to flee away:
>
> Say, flight shall not profit you—Súratu'l-Ahzáb (xxxiii) 12—14, 17.

The Quraish suddenly raised the siege and then retired. 'This was the best and also the last chance given to the Meccans and Jews of breaking Muhammad's power. It was utterly wasted, partly for want of physical courage, but chiefly because there was no man with brains in command'[1] The Prophet in order to encourage his followers then said, as if from God:

> And God drove back the infidels in their wrath! they won no advantage—Súratu'l-Ahzáb (xxxiii) 25.

The position of Muhammad as a chieftain was now strong, and he assumed a position of superiority, calling for special and reverential intercourse,

> Address not the Apostle as ye address one another[2]—Súratu'n-Núr (xxiv) 63.

The Quraish had been beaten in one battle and had failed in a siege The victory of Uhud they had not followed up. A large number of Arab tribes had been by persuasion or force drawn to the acceptance of Islám. The Jews by banishment and slaughter had been reduced to impotence Mecca, however, still remained

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[1] Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 326.

[2] This is an idea borrowed from the Jews. See Rodwell, *Qur'án*, p. 582, note 2.

proudly aloof from the one man in Arabia who was a conqueror and a ruler of men. All these long years Muhammad had suffered persecution and reproach at the hands of the Quraish: the day of retribution was drawing near. The mind of the Prophet turned towards the sacred city, for, until his influence was supreme there, he could not expect to be the sole ruler in Arabia[1] Six years had now passed away since he and his followers had left Mecca, and no doubt many of them wished to revisit the old familiar places. Again, Muhammad had some time before changed the Qibla (or direction in which prayer should be said) from Jerusalem to Mecca. The sacred temple there was still a holy place to the Muslims in Madina. Every day of their lives they turned towards it in acts of divine worship, though for six years they had not seen it. The longing to enter its courts and to go round its

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[1] Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii), called that of 'The Pilgrimage,' is a very composite one and many of its verses belong to the later Meccan period, but some are about this date and show how the idea of the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba was working in the mind of the Prophet. The Meccans were still in possession, for they are rebuked for misconduct connected with the Ka'ba and Muḥammad is directed to

Proclaim to the peoples a pilgrimage, v. 28.

walls was now very great. The way had to be carefully prepared and Súratu'l-Hajj (xxii), or such portions of it as are not late Meccan, was revealed for this purpose[1] The Meccans are reminded that the Ka'ba is for all men. The ceremonies of the old pagan ritual are declared to be 'rites of God,' the performance of which shows 'piety of heart.' The continued sacrifice of camels is enjoined. Thus did Muhammad claim the Ka'ba and all its ceremonies for Islám It was a master-stroke for gaining influence at the time.

At this juncture Muhammad had a dream in which he saw himself and his followers performing all the duties of the Pilgrimage. This settled the matter, and as the sacred month in which the 'Umra, or Lesser Pilgrimage, is made was now at hand a considerable body started out towards Mecca in the month of March A.D. 628. The Quraish opposed their entrance into the city and messengers went to and fro between the two parties.[2] The position of the Muslims

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[1] *vv* 27—39, 66—7, 76—7

[2] The following verse is supposed by some authorities to refer to this.

> Who committeth a greater wrong than he who prohibiteth the temples of God, that His name should not be mentioned there, and who strives to ruin

at Ḥudaibiya was one of some danger and Muḥammad, gathering his followers around himself under the shade of a tree, required a pledge of loyalty even to death from each one. This oath was cheerfully given, and the 'Pledge

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them. It is not for such to enter them except in fear, for them is disgrace in this world and in the future severe torment—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 108

If this is correct this verse is of later date than the second Súra and must have been inserted afterwards. The commentators differ. In the *Tafsír-i-Husainí*, p. 19, this verse is said to refer to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem by Titus, the Roman, and that the word temple is used in the plural instead of the singular for honour. Baiḍáwí (vol. i, p 80) says it refers to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the prohibition by the Quraish of Muḥammad's entry into Mecca. In the *Khalásatu't-Tafásír*, vol. i, p. 64, various views are given. One is that it refers to Titus, who is said to be a Christian (دین نصرانیت قبول کیا); but another view, referring it to the opposition of the Quraish to the entrance of the Muslims into Mecca, is given at some length. Thus:

ای قریش تم نے مکہ معظمہ کی مسجد سے اللّٰہ کے پیغمبر
کو نکالدیا اور مؤمنین کو عبادت و ذکر خدا سے روکا اور اس
سبب سے کہ عبادت و ذکر کعبے مین موقوف رہا تم اس کے
ویران اور خراب کرنے مین ساعی تھے

'O Quraish, you cast out the Prophet of God from the Temple of Mecca, the honoured, and prevented the believers from worshipping and praising there, and so worship and praise in the Ka'ba is suspended. You have been diligent in rendering it desolate and in ruining it.'

of the tree' is an event ever after referred to with great respect and regard. It is a most striking instance of the personal devotion of his followers to the Prophet and of the intense sympathy which existed between them. God is said to have been glad about it:

> Well pleased now hath God been with the believers when they plighted fealty to thee under the tree—Súratu'l-Fath (xlviii) 18.[1]

The end of the consultations was that the Quraish absolutely refused admission to the Ka'ba, but agreed to the following terms.

'War shall be suspended for ten years. Neither side shall attack the other Perfect amity shall prevail betwixt us. Whosoever wisheth to join Muhammad and enter into treaty with him shall have liberty to do so; and whosoever wisheth to join the Quraish and enter into treaty with them shall have liberty so to do. If any one goeth over to Muhammad, without the permission of his guardian, he shall be sent back to his guardian.[2] But, if any one

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[1] It is called the 'Oath of good pleasure.'—بيعة الرضوان

[2] It will be seen that there is no distinction of sex here and it applies to females equally with males, but soon after the return of the prophet to Mecca a young man came from Mecca to Madína. His guardian claimed him and Muhammad admitted the claim. Then a woman came

from amongst the followers of Muḥammad return to the Quraish, the same shall be sent back; provided—on the part of the Quraish—that Muḥammad and his followers retire from us this year without entering the city. In the coming year he may visit Mecca, he and his followers, for three days when we shall retire. But they may not enter it with any weapons,

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over. Her brothers followed her to Madína and demanded her restoration. Muhammad now objected to give up a woman and produced the following revelation

> O ye who believe! when there come believing women who have fled, then try them. God knows their faith If ye know them to be believers do not send them back to the unbelievers, they are not lawful for them, nor are the men lawful for these—Suratu'l-Mumtaḥína (lx) 10.

The commentators on the words فَامْتَحِنُوهُنَّ—'then try them,' say that they are to be examined as to the real cause of their flight, in order to ascertain that it is nothing else than the desire to embrace Islám, for only in such a case is their detention lawful. Still, even in this case the Prophet's action was a clear breach of the treaty recently made. It is a good illustration of the great value to him, and of the practical utility, of the piecemeal revelation of the Qur'án. It needs explanation and so with reference to the condition laid down in the treaty of Ḥudaibiya Ḥusain says: 'Gabriel came and said, "O Prophet of God, the condition applies only to men and not to women"'—جبرئیل آمد وگفت یا رسول الله آن شرط بر مردمان واقع شده نه برزنان—*Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí*, vol. ii, p. 397.

save those of the traveller namely to each a sheathed sword [1]

At first the Muslims were disappointed and felt that their object in coming had not been gained [2] but Muhammad soon produced a revelation to show how wrong that view of it was and what benefits would be derived from this treaty of Hudaibiya Standing on his camel he gave what he declared to be God s message beginning with the words

> Verily we have won for thee an undoubted victory Suratu l Fath (xlviii) 1 [3]

And such it was for the Quraish in treating him as an equal acknowledged his political status Ibn Isháq well remarks that when war had ceased and people met in security then they entered into conversation and every intelligent

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[1] *Raudatu s Safá* part ii vol ii pp 511—14

[2] It is said that Muhammad himself could not trust the Meccans and that warlike steps were sanctioned if they failed to observe the terms of the treaty of Hudaibiya [Suratu l Baqara (ii) 186—9] If this passage does refer to th s per od it is a late interpolation See *Tafsir i Husaini* vol i p 32 and Baidáwí vol i p 108 The verses in Suratu l Mumtahina (lx) 1—9 probably refer to the same circumstance

[3] Nöldeke on *vv* 1—17 of this Sura says from these verses we may clearly see that Muhammad had intended to take Mecca but that the Bedouins now failed to help him so he thought it advisable to conclude a treaty

person with whom the merits of Islám were discussed embraced it.' The increase was certainly rapid now. Referring to the women who came Margoliouth says, 'These welcome visitors easily found new ties at Madina, though some sort of examination had to be undergone to test the genuineness of their faith.'[1] The people who would not come are, in this same Súra, bitterly reproved and reminded that the 'flame of hell is prepared for the Infidels,'[2] whilst those who had taken the oath of fealty under the tree are promised 'a spirit of secure repose, a speedy victory and a rich booty.'[3] To meet the disappointment caused by the absence of booty the Muslims are told that there is

> Other booty, over which ye have not yet had power, but now hath God compassed them for you—Súratu'l-Fatḥ (xlviii) 21.

This was good policy and a true victory'—*Geschichtes des Qoráns*, p 161.

The failure of the Arabs is referred to in :

> The Arabs who took not the field with you will say to thee, 'we were engaged with our property and our families, therefore ask thou pardon for us'—Súratu'l-Fatḥ (xlviii) 11.

[1] *Mohammed*, p. 351, and Súratu'l-Mumtaḥina (lx) 10. See also *Rauḍatu's-Ṣáfá*, part ii, vol. ii, pp. 571—14.

[2] Súratu'l-Fatḥ (xlviii) 13.

[3] Súratu'l-Fatḥ (xlviii) 1, 3, 20.

Baidáwí says this may refer to the spoils after the defeat of the Huwazin Arabs in the battle of Hunain[1] The Muslims had referred to Muhammad s dream and wondered why it had not come to pass He pointed out that the particular year of its fulfilment was not shown in it and to pacify them brought another revelation to assure them of its certain fulfilment

> Now hath God in truth made good to His Apostle the dream in which he said Ye shall surely enter the sacred mosque if God will in full security having your head shaved and your hair cut ye shall not fear for He knoweth what ye know not and He hath ordained you be sides this a speedy victory[2]
>
> It is He who hath sent His Apostle with the guidance and the religion of truth that He may exalt it above every religion And enough for thee is this testimony on the part of God—Suratu l Fath (xlviii) 27—8[3]

Thus though the pilgrimage was postponed

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[1] Mujáh d quoted by Husain says it may refer to any victory Other commentators refer it to the victory at Khaibar See *Khalásatu t-Tafásir* vol iv p 241

[2] According to Ba dawí and Husain this refers to the victory at Khaibar Wáqidi says اور مراد اوس فتح قریب سے فتح خیبر ہی The meaning of this speedy victory is the victory of Khaibar

[3] According to Husain the 28th verse is said to be a

the victory was theirs other booty would be realized and they could rest now in patience for to Muhammad was the 'guidance committed Great would be the glory of Islam No longer were Christianity and Judaism co ordinate with it In Islam alone was salvation to be found,[1] for now it was to exceed and excel all other

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menace to the followers of other religions than Islam and to apostates from Islám Thus

این آیت تهدید جمیع ست که طالب غیر دین اسلام اند و درمیان ایشان که بعد وصول شرف اسلام دست از دامن دین مبین باز دارند و مرتد شوند— *Tafsír i Husaini* vol i p 74

This is al o asserted by other commontators Thus

جو سوای دین اسلام کے کوئی اور دین اختیار کرے یہودیت یا نصرانیت یا کچھ ہو سو منظور و مقبول نہوگا اور وہ اپنی سعی اور کوشش میں محروم و مخذول رہیگا اس آیت نے تمام دینوں کو منسوخ کردیا جو گزر گئے یا پیدا کئے جائیں

He who chooses any religion other than Islám, whether Judaism Christianity or any other will not be approved and accepted and his efforts will be frustrated and disappointed This verse abrogates all religions which have preceded or which shall follow (Islám) — *Khalásatu t Tafásír* vol i p 271

Thus was the claim of Islám to the absolute allegiance of all mankind now made clear to the people of Madína

[1] Whoso craves other than Islám for a religion it shall surely not be accepted from him and in the next world he shall be among the lost —Suratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 79

religions, and so they could well afford to wait for a year to fulfil their desire Enough for them to know that this was the will of God The whole of this forty eighth Sura is very remark able and well suited to the occasion

This special claim for Islam as the one religion had already been made in an earlier Madína Sura

> The true religion with God is Islám and those to whom the Scriptures were given did not differ till after that knowledge had come to them and out of jealousy of each other—Suratu Ali Imrán (iii) 17

The meaning of this is given in the commen taries to be that Islam not Judaism and Chris tianity is the true religion and that Jews and Christians did not reject it till the Qur án came, when they did so simply out of envy or from the desire to maintain their own superiority [1]

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[1] The religion approved by God is Islam not Judaism or Christianity and they to whom were given the Book of the Pentateuch and the Gospel did not differ about this that Islam is true and that Muḥammad is the true pro phet till after that the true knowledge (i e the Qur án) came to them The original is as follows

دین پسندیده نزدیک خدای دین اسلام است نه یهودیت
و نصرانیت و اختلاف نکردند درآنکه دین اسلام حق است و
محمد رسول پیغمبر بحق آنانکه داده اند بدیشان کتاب یعنی

After his return to Madína, with a strong sense of his growing power in Arabia, the vision of the Prophet took a wider range, which is shown in the spirit of a passage in a late Madína Súra:

> Say to them, O men, 'Verily I am God's Apostle to you all'—Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 157.

This led him to send embassies, about the years A.D 627—8, to various Christian rulers, including Heraclius the Emperor of Byzantium, to the King of Persia and others. Noldeke says that in these letters, calling upon the Christian sovereigns to embrace Islám and to acknowledge his suzerainty, the following passage was included.[1]

Say: 'O people of the Book! come ye to a just

توریت و انجیل مگر پس ازانکه آمد بدسشان داسی بحقیقت امر یعنی قرآن بدشان فرود آمد

Tafsír-i-Husainí, vol. i, p. 62.

Baidáwí defines Islám to be the acceptance of the doctrine of the unity and of the code which Muhammad brought—vol. i, p. 148.

سوائے اسلام کے اور کوئی طریقہ مقبول نہیں جیسا فرمایا مَن يَبْتَغِ غَيْرَ الْإِسْلَامِ دِيْنًا فَلَنْ يُقْبَلَ مِنْهُ اسلام کے سوا دوسرا دین جو اختیار کرے نہ مانا جائیگا

'Except Islám no other way is approved, as God said, "who chooses other than Islám for a religion, it shall not be accepted from him"'—*Khalásatu't-Tafásír*, vol. i, p. 241.

[1] It is, however, said that this verse and the verses

judgment between us and you—that ye worship not aught but God and that we join no other gods with Him, and that the one of us take not the other for lords, beside God.' Then if they turn their backs, say, 'Bear ye witness that we are Muslims.'

O people of the Book, why dispute about Abraham,[1] when the Law and the Gospel were not sent down till after him. Do ye not then understand?

Lo! ye are they who dispute about that of which ye have no knowledge. . . . God hath knowledge but ye know nothing.

Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian, but he was sound in the faith, (Haníf) a Muslim, and not of those who add gods to God—Súratu-Ali 'Imrán (iii) 57–60.

'Each time the Prophet had failed, or secured an incomplete success, he compensated for it by an attack on the Jews This policy had served

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preceding it were revealed, when later on the Christians of Najran with their Bishop came to see Muhammad. It is also said to refer to the Jews of Madína—Baidáwí, vol. i, p. 159

[1] Baidáwí comments on the verse thus 'the Jews and Christians quarreled over Abraham, each sect maintaining that he belonged to them so they referred the matter to the Prophet, when the text was revealed.' He then goes on to say that the Law was given to Moses and the Gospel to Christ, so Abraham belonged to neither of them.

too well to be abandoned after the unsatisfactory affair of Ḥudaibiya and, therefore, a raid on the Jews of Khaibar was speedily planned.'[1] It took place in the autumn of 628 and brought much wealth to the camp of the Muslims. At first, Muhammad had sought the aid of the Jews, but failing to get it, he attacked them, tribe by tribe, massacred them, banished them from their homes or reduced them to a state of helpless subjection. In this victory Muhammad put an end to the independence of the Jews in Arabia Ṣafiyya, a daughter of one of the Prophet's most active adversaries, who had been assassinated by his order, was taken captive at Khaibar She was invited to embrace Islám which she did and then became the wife of the conqueror The people of Khaibar lived too far away from Madína to be a menace, but there was booty to be acquired and the total subjugation of Arabia seems now to have been decided upon.

Muhammad, being now secure from any attack on the part of the Quraish, made raids on different Bedouin tribes and so passed the time until the month for the 'Umra, or Lesser Pilgrimage, came round again At this time some

[1] Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 355.

sick Bedouins of the 'Urain and Ukka families accepted Islám and received permission to stay on the pasture ground of the Prophet and to drink the milk of the she-camels. They were ungrateful, and after slaying the keeper of the camels stole fifteen of them and ran away. They were caught and the punishment inflicted was brutal. Their hands and feet were cut off; their eyes and tongues were pierced with thorns (*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 144); their eyes were pierced with needles and they were exposed to the heat of the sun till they died (*Khulásatu-t-Tafásír*, vol. ii, p. 575). Then this verse was revealed:

> As to the thief, whether man or woman, cut ye off their hands in recompense for their doings. This is a penalty by way of warning from God himself—Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 42.

In the spring of A.D. 629 Muhammad availed himself of the permission granted by the Quraish, and with about two thousand followers approached Mecca. The Quraish then retired and the Muslims, leaving their weapons outside, entered Mecca which for seven years they had not seen. When Muhammad came to the Ka'ba[1] he said:

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[1] According to the *Raudatu's-Safa*, on the way he recited the Súratu'l-Fath (xlviii) which begins with 'Verily we have won for thee an undoubted victory.'

'May God be gracious to the man whom he shows them (the Meccans) to-day in his strength.' He performed the usual ceremonies of the pagan pilgrimage, such as kissing the black stone, making the seven prescribed circuits of the Ka'ba, and the running between the Mounts Ṣafá and Marwa. The animals brought for the purpose were sacrificed, and the ceremonies of the Lesser Pilgrimage were brought to an end. The honour paid to the city and to the ancient temple favourably influenced the Meccans; the show of martial power led two cavalry leaders of the Quraish to join Muhammad's standard, the friendships formed, through his marriage now with Maimúna—the fourth addition to his harem during this year—advanced his cause, and when Muḥammad retired again to Madína he was much more powerful in every way than he had been at any previous period.

A few more Arab tribes were then attacked and reduced to submission. The southern portion of the Roman Empire was invaded, but in the battle of Múta the Muslims were severely defeated. 'We are justified in supposing that much was effected by Muḥammad's campaign against the Byzantines, which, though not for the moment successful, made him the champion of a national idea, which the Arabs had scarcely

thought of till then.'[1] Muhammad saw the attack was premature, and that, before entering on conquests abroad, his position must first be made stronger in Arabia. Then came a revelation in this very short Súra, the Súratu'n-Nasr (cx):

> When the help of God, and the victory[2] arrive,
> And thou seest men entering the religion of God by troops
> Then utter the praise of the Lord and implore His pardon, for He loveth to turn in mercy.

Thus encouraged, he was able to proceed. Undoubtedly the unity of the political community, the consolidation of his followers as a religious corporation needed a centre other than Madína. The time had now come when, if Islám was to be the one politico-religious force in Arabia which Muhammad had from the first intended it to be, Mecca must become its centre.

He saw that the Meccans were now weary of strife, that many Quraish leaders were either dead or had joined him, that everywhere in the country his own power was extending, and that it would be now possible by a determined effort

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[1] Margoliouth, *Mohammad*, p. 389.

[2] Baidáwí says that the victory is that of Mecca and that 'by troops' is meant the men of Mecca, of Tá'if, Yaman, Huwázin and all the Arab tribes—vol. ii, p. 420.

to capture Mecca and once for all break down the remaining opposition of the Quraish.

The thirteenth Súra is the last Meccan one, but the forty-first verse is interpolated and probably refers to this period:

> See they not that we come to the land and diminish the borders thereof? God judges and there is none to reverse His judgment, and He is swift at reckoning up—Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 41.

Ibn 'Abbás[1] and other commentators refer this to the Meccans, who were so blind and obtuse that they did not realize that the Muslims were encroaching more and more on the territories of the pagan Arab tribes. Ḥusain,[2] however, says it refers to the Jews, whose forts, lands and possessions had now come unto the possession of the Muslims.

Some, apparently, were very reluctant to join in this expedition and are thus reproved:

> What! will ye not fight against those (Meccans) who have broken their oaths and aimed to expel your Apostle, and attacked you first? Will ye dread them? God is more worthy of your fear, if ye are believers!
>
> So make war on them: by your hands will God chastise them and will put them to shame, and

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[1] *Tafsir-i-ibn 'Abbás*, p. 289.

[2] *Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. i, p. 348.

> will give you victory over them—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 13—4.

Those who took an active part in the attack on Mecca and shared in the victory over it are highly praised, and their conduct is favourably contrasted with those who gave alms and fought for Islám after this event had shown the power of the Prophet;

> Those amongst you who contributed before the victory and fought shall be differently treated from others amongst you: they are grander in rank than those who gave and fought afterwards—Súratu'l-Ḥadíd (lvii) 10.[1]

Two years had passed since the treaty of Ḥudaibiya was made and, according to its

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[1] 'Who contributed before the victory and fought'—

مَنْ أَنْفَقَ مِنْ قَبْلِ الْفَتْحِ وَقَاتَلَ

Nöldeke says it refers to the victory at Badr. He is probably correct, but with the exception of Mu'álim, who refers it to the treaty of Ḥudaibiya, Baiḍáwí and all the Muslim commentators I have consulted say it is this victory over Mecca which is referred to. The superiority of those who took part in it is thus described: 'Those Companions who before the victory over Mecca were believers and helpers are superior to all believers and to the best of the people.'

وہ صحابی جو فتح مکہ سے پہلے مومن و معین ہوئے دوسرے تمام مومنین بلکہ خیار امت سے افضل ہیں

Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír, vol. iv, p. 364.

terms, the peace between Madina and Mecca was to last for ten years. This difficulty was overcome. A Bedouin tribe attached to Muḥammad was attacked by another tribe in alliance with the Quraish. The Prophet seized the occasion, took up the quarrel, and with a large army of some ten thousand men advanced against Mecca. Abú Sufyán, the old and implacable enemy of the Prophet, saw that the time for opposition was past. He sought for an interview with Muhammad, repeated the Muslim creed, and became henceforth a good Muslim. This led to the comparatively quiet submission of Mecca where Abú Sufyán, the hereditary leader of the Quraish, possessed great influence. As soon as Muhammad entered the city he proceeded to the Ka'ba and saluted the black stone. He then ordered all the idols to be hewn down and, in order to show that he now exercised supreme authority, he appointed 'Uthmán bin Talha and 'Abbás to the two hereditary offices connected with the temple[1]

A crier then proclaimed in the streets this order: 'Whoever believeth in God and in the

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[1] It is said that this transaction is referred to and justified in:

Verily, God enjoineth you to give back your trusts to their owners—Súratu'n-Nisa' (iv) 61.

last day, let him not leave in his house any image whatever that he doth not break in pieces.'[1]

Many of the Meccans mocked, and then a revelation came to show that by nature all men are equal, and that in the sight of God noble birth and pride of race or rank is of little worth as compared with the fear of the Lord. The Quraish are rebuked in:

> O men! Verily we have created you of a male and a female, and we have divided you into peoples and tribes that ye might have knowledge one of another. Truly, the most worthy of honour in the sight of God is he who feareth Him most—Súratu'l-Hujurát (xlix) 14.[2]

In reply to a question asking the Meccans what they thought of him, Muhammad received the answer from some of them, 'we think well of thee, O noble brother and son of a noble brother Verily thou hast obtained power over us.' Referring to the Súratu Yúsuf (xii) the Prophet quoted the words in the 92nd verse, which were said by Joseph to his brethren:

> No blame be on you this day. God will forgive

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[1] Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv, p 129.

[2] For a full account of the special circumstances which now called forth this revelation, see *Khalásatu't-Tafásír*, vol. iv, pp. 269—72.

> you for He is the most merciful of those who show mercy[1]—Súratu Yúsuf (xii) 92.

With a few exceptions,[2] mostly of those who, it must be admitted, deserved their fate, a general amnesty extended to all the inhabitants of the city. The result was that the Prophet soon won the hearts of the people. There were no Munáfiqún in Mecca as there had been in Madína. It was a day of great triumph to Muhammad, for

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[1] *Rauḍatu's-Safá*, part ii, vol ii, p. 602.

[2] About ten persons were excluded from the amnesty, of whom four were put to death. Amongst the number thus excluded was 'Abdu'lláh ibn Sa'd, who was for some time the amanuensis of the Prophet at Madína. It is related that one day the Prophet was dictating to him the passage concerning the creation of mankind in Súra (xxiii) 12—14, the last words of which are 'Blessed, therefore, be God, the most excellent of Makers.' These words were spoken by 'Abdu'lláh ibn Sa'd in astonishment, but the Prophet was so pleased with them that he said, 'Write them down, for so it has descended.' 'Abdu'lláh had doubts about this and said, 'If Muhammad is right, on me also has inspiration descended' Ḥusain is the authority for this statement which he gives in the following passage.

حضرت رسالت پناه گفت بنویس که همچنین نازل شده
عبد الله در شك افتاد مرتد گشت گفت اگر محمد صادقست
پس بر من هم وحی فرود می آید

Tafsir-i-Husaini, vol. ii, p. 80.

The Prophet was very indignant at this, and this verse,

now had 'the mercy' of God come upon them.[1] Eight years before he had left Mecca as a fugitive, a despised outcast. Since then the Quraish had been unwearing in their opposition and now that was at an end. The sacred city was in his possession and his word was law. He had stood in the temple, sacred for many centuries to the worship of al-Lát and al-'Uzzá and a host of inferior deities, and with a word had banished for ever idolatry from it. He by his own authority had now appointed new officers

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which Baidawí says refers to the action of 'Abdu'lláh ibn Sa'd, was revealed concerning it:

> Is any man more wicked than he who deviseth a lie or saith, 'I have a revelation,' when nothing was revealed to Him? and who saith, 'I can bring down a book like that which God hath sent down'—Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 93

This verse occurs in a late Meccan Súra, but the event it refers to happened in Madína, so it is evident that it is an interpolation in the place it now occupies, for which no other reason can be assigned than that the preceding verse deals with the superiority of the Qur'án over other Scriptures. Another curious thing is, that in it a man is condemned who claimed to produce a verse equal to Muhammad's and yet the Prophet himself had challenged men to do so Did Muhammad mean the challenge to be accepted or not?

[1] Baidáwí says that the words 'fulfilled my mercy upon you' in Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 5 may refer to this victory.

to it, and made it the centre of the new religion. No wonder that success so great caused Islám to spread most rapidly now. At last it seemed as if the Arab people would be united as they had never been before: at last the patriotic feelings of the Prophet seemed near their realization, and Arabia united and free—a political and a religious whole—would more than resist the enemies who but a few years before had been encroaching on her territories, and threatening her very existence

Whilst, however, serious opposition was now at an end, yet a few places still held out, and within a fortnight Muhammad had to march against the Huwázin Bedouins, who with the people of Tá'if saw in the fall of Mecca a danger to their own independence. A battle was fought in the valley of Hunain. At first a panic seized some of the Muslim troops and they gave way and the whole army began to take to flight. The position was critical, and Muhammad bade his uncle 'Abbas cry out: 'O! Men of Madína! O! Men of the tree of fealty![1] Ye of the Súratu'l Baqara!' and so on The flight of some was arrested, when Muhammad ascending a mound and taking some gravel in his hand cast it towards the enemy, saying, 'Ruin seize them!' The tide of battle turned and the enemy were at

[1] Ante, p. 178.

last utterly routed. As usual, a revelation came in connexion with this battle and the initial reverse is attributed to the vain-glory the Muslims showed in their numbers Thus:

> Now hath God helped you on many battle-fields, and on the day of Hunain, when ye prided yourselves on your numbers; but it availed you nothing, and the earth with all its breadth became too strait for you, then turned ye your backs in flight—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 25.

In the next verse the final victory is attributed to supernatural aid:

> Then did God send down His spirit of repose[1] upon His Apostle and upon the faithful, and He sent down the hosts which ye saw not and He punished the infidels

He now gave from the spoils of the Huwázin large presents to the leading chiefs of Mecca and of the Bedouin tribes, who had become converts, at which his old followers and friends were

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[1] The original word is Sakínat—سَكِينَة. It is used in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 249 where Samuel is made to say to the Israelites, 'The sign of His Kingdom shall be, that the ark shall come unto you. therein shall be tranquility (Sakínat) from your Lord.' It seems to be thus connected with the Shechinah, or Divine presence or glory, which appeared on the ark. So now in this time of panic the supposed Divine presence with the Prophet gives tranquility, or a spirit of repose. It also

somewhat annoyed and made discontented. But later on a revelation came to justify his action even in a small matter like this:

> Some of them defame thee in regard to the alms, yet if a part be given them they are content, but if no part be given them, behold, they are angry. . . . .

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occurs in connexion with a reference to the time of danger, when the Prophet was with Abú Bakr in the cave on the occasion of the flight from Mecca.

And God sent *His spirit of repose upon him*—

فَأَنزَلَ اللّٰهُ سَكِينَتَهُ عَلَيهِ—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 40.

It is also used with reference to other events

> He it is who sends down a spirit of repose into the hearts of the faithful that they may add faith to their faith.
>
> Well pleased now hath God been with the believers when they plighted fealty under the tree (ante, p. 178), and He knew what was in their hearts; therefore did he send down upon them a spirit of repose, and rewarded them with a speedy victory.
>
> When the unbelievers had fostered rage in their hearts—the rage of ignorance—God sent down His spirit of repose on His Apostle and on the faithful—Súratu'l Fath (xlviii) 4, 18, 26.

The word is found only in the Madína Súras which shows that Muhammad borrowed the idea from the Jews. See Geiger, *Judaism and Islám*, p 39

Baidawí calls it الثبات الطمانينة—'the permanance of tranquility.'

Nadhir Ahmad translates it by تسلى—comfort, and by تحمّل—patience.

Would that they were satisfied with what God and His Apostle had given them and would say, 'God sufficeth us, God will vouchsafe to us of His favour and so will His Apostle: verily unto God do we make our suit.'

But alms are only to be given to the poor and needy and those who collect them, and to *those whose hearts are reconciled (to Islám)*— Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 58—60.[1]

The alms were, in the case of the chiefs who received rich presents, very much of the nature of a bribe, and naturally the men of Madína objected to the procedure. The words 'those whose hearts are reconciled to Islám' are said by the commentators to be now abrogated, for Abú Bakr abolished the making of these gifts to converts, because God had now prospered Islám and so such gifts were no longer needed.[2]

The Prophet next laid siege to the city of

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[1] It is the unanimous testimony of the commentators that the words ٱلْمُؤَلَّفَةِ قُلُوبُهُمْ—'whose hearts are reconciled,' mean won over to Islám. This term al-Mú'allafa Qulúbuhum was ever after the name by which the chiefs thus won over were known. Ibn 'Abbás and Baidáwí say that Abú Sufyán and his friends and Iqrá bin Jábis, 'Abbás bin Mirdás and others were amongst the persons who received presents.

[2] Ḥusain referring to the abolition of these alms says:—'After the development of Islám and the conquests

Ṭá'if but was unsuccessful. After a few weeks the siege was raised; but when ten months had passed the people of Ṭá'if submitted to him.

The ninth year after the Hijra is called the 'Year of the Deputations,' for now that Mecca and the Ka'ba had passed into the possession of Muhammad, his fame became great and tribe after tribe made their submission. The historian ibn Isháq rightly estimated the moral value of these conversions He says. 'As soon as Mecca was conquered and the Quraish had submitted to him, being humbled by Islám, the Arabs, understanding that they themselves had not the power to oppose Muhammad and make war against him, professed the faith of Alláh' Bands of Muslims under active leaders scoured the country, and the permission given

made by the Muslims, this was all cancelled by the unanimous consent of the Companions'

بعد از ظهور اسلام و علفهٔ مسلمانان باجماع صحابه ساقط شده است

Tafsír-i-Husainí, vol i, p. 260

'In the time of Abu Bakr Siddíq by unanimous consent the portion of those reconciled to Islám was cancelled, for there was no longer any necessity for reconciliation of hearts'

زمانهٔ ابوبکر صدیق میں باجماع حصهٔ مولفة القلوب ساقط هوگیا اس لئے که ضرورت تالیف قلوب کرنے کی باقی نرهی

Khalásatu't-Tafásír, vol. ii, p. 271.

to non-Muslims to visit the temple was now annulled and the order was:

> When the sacred months are passed, kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them, and seize them, besiege them, and lay wait for them with every kind of ambush; but if they shall convert and observe prayer and pay the obligatory alms then let them go their way—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 5

It has been said that this famous verse, known as the Áyatu's-Saif, or 'verse of the sword,' abrogates the restriction which did not allow the Muslims to commence a war and which is recorded in the verse:

> Fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you. but commit not the injustice of attacking them first—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 186.[1]

It even does more, for it also abrogates[2] the kindly words of an earlier Meccan revelation:

> Dispute not unless in kindly sort with the people of the Book—Súratu'l-'Ankabut (xxix) 45.

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[1] This order, which restricted fighting to defensive warfare is, according to Husain, and Baidáwí, abrogated by the Ayatu's-Saif. Thus

این حکم بآیت سیف منسوخ است

Tafsír-i-Husaini, vol i, p. 32

So now the special and limited warfare is a thing of the past, and continuous and general fighting against all polytheists is inculcated

[2] Baidáwí, vol. ii, p. 98. قیل هو منسوخ بآیة السیف

In any case the Arabs now saw that further opposition was useless. The whole framework of society was broken; it needed reconstruction and Muhammad alone had the power to do it. Thus, the movement towards Islám now assumed the character of a national one, and the very man who had for so many years been the cause of disputes and wars, now became the acknowledged leader and head of an united Arabia. In this way were the Prophet's early desires fulfilled.

Submission to the political rule involved acceptance, on the part of him who submitted, of the religion of Islám, an essential tenet of which was that he 'should not only submit to its teaching and adopt its ritual and code of ethics, but also render an implicit obedience in all things "to the Lord and His Prophet," and that he should pay tithes annually (not indeed as a tribute, but as a religious offering which sanctified the rest of his wealth), towards the charities and expenses of Muhammad and his growing empire.'[1]

A little while after this, in the autumn of the year A.D. 630, an armed force was sent towards the Syrian frontier, where the Emperor Heraclius was reported to be collecting a large body of the feudatory tribes with a view to stop the inroads

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[1] Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv, p. 170.

of the Muslims, or to invade Arabia. The state of affairs seemed critical, and the Muslim army, now collected to withstand the Byzantines and their allies, was the most powerful one Muhammad had ever been able to raise and organize. When the expedition, after much difficulty and suffering, reached Tabúq, a place midway between Madína and Damascus, it was found that the report of the Roman preparations had been an exaggerated one, and that the Emperor had changed his mind and had gone away. Muhammad then turned his attention to the position of various Christian and Jewish tribes. John, the Christian Prince of Ailah, made a treaty with the Prophet and agreed to pay an annual tribute. The most interesting embassy to the Prophet was that of the Christians of Najrán headed by their Bishop, Abú Háritha. They refused to accept Islám or to agree to Muhammad's proposal, 'Come let us curse each other and lay the curse of Alláh on those that lie.' Finally, they agreed to pay the poll-tax which all non-Muslims had to give.[1] This event is referred to in the following verses of the Qur'án:[2]

Verily, Jesus is as Adam in the sight of God. He

[1] *Raudatu-s-Safá*, part ii, vol ii, pp. 687—99. Baidáwi, vol. i, p. 109.

[2] The fifty-fourth verse is called Áyatu'l-Mubáhalat 'verse of imprecation.'

created him of dust; He then said to him, 'Be—and he was.'
The truth is from thy Lord. Be not thou, therefore, of those who doubt.
As for those who dispute with thee about Him, after the knowledge [1] hath come to thee, say, 'Come, let us summon our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, and ourselves and yourselves. Then will we invoke and lay the curse of God on those who lie'—Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 52—3.

The idea of settling the matter by imprecation was a curious one, but it shows how strong the conviction of the truth of his own position was in the mind of Muhammad. Some Jewish tribes also submitted, and promised to give regularly the tax required of them. Muhammad then returned home from this his last expedition and reached Madina at the close of the year A.D. 630.

Whilst some of the Muslims at Madína and many of the Bedouins held back, the more earnest Muslims had been very eager to aid in the war against the Christian Syrians and the disaffected Arab tribes, but carriage and supplies could not be provided for all. Those whose

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[1] i.e., after knowing that Jesus is a prophet and a servant (i.e., not divine)—*Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí*, vol i, p. 70.
از دانستن عیسی که رسول و بندهٔ است

services could not be utilized in the expedition to Tabúk (ante, p. 204) wept bitterly, and were ever after called al-Baká'ún—'The Weepers.' They are told that no blame attaches to those.

> To whom when they came to thee thou didst say, 'I find not wherewith to mount you,' and they turned away their eyes shedding floods of tears for grief, because they found no means to contribute—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 93.

But amongst those who went some were half-hearted. One said to his friends: 'This man wants to conquer the forts and districts of the country of Syria, which is not likely to happen.' Then one who was present rebuked the speaker and said that he hoped some verse would be revealed concerning such wicked conversation. Meanwhile, Muhammad had been supernaturally informed of this murmuring On knowing this, the hypocrites were afraid and said that they had spoken only in fun Then came the revelation:

> The hypocrites are afraid lest a Súra should be sent down concerning them, to tell plainly what is in their hearts. Say. scoff ye, but God will bring to light that which ye are afraid of.
>
> And if thou question them, they will surely say, 'We were only discoursing and jesting' Say, what! do ye scoff at God,[1] and His signs, and His Apostle.

[1] This apparently claims divine approval of the warlike

> Make no excuse: from faith ye have passed to infidelity. If we forgive some of you, we will punish others; for that they have been evildoers—Súratu't Tauba (ix) 65—7.

Persons who asked troublesome questions were now rebuked. On the authorities of Muslim and other Traditionists, Noldeke[1] says that when the command for the Hajj was given, a man enquired of Muhammad whether he must go every year. The Prophet being annoyed said, 'Yes, you may'. He then produced this revelation:

> O believers, ask us not of things which if they were told might only pain you—Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 101.

This verse may, however, refer to the following verse which treats of some Meccan superstitions Some commentators say that it refers to general matters Baidáwi has a good note on it, (vol. i, p. 274)

Some of the disaffected—the Hypocrites—at Madína, who had not followed the Prophet in this expedition, on his return home, were severely rebuked. Special revelations, which commentators agree in referring to the war of Tabúk.[2]

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expedition to Tabúk for, according to Baidáwí, it was that which was the cause of the jesting.

[1] *Geschichtes des Qorans*, p. 173

[2] *Khalásatu't-Tafásir*, vol. i, p. 256.

came to reprove them and the Arabs of the desert also, and to warn others:

O Believers! what possessed you, that when it was said to you, 'March forth on the way of God,' ye sank heavily earthwards? What! prefer ye the life of this world to the next?

Unless ye march forth, with a grievous chastisement will He chastise you, and he will place another people in your stead, and ye shall in no way harm Him. for over every thing God is potent.[1]

March ye forth the light and heavy armed and contend with your substance and your persons on the way of God. This, if ye know it, will be better for you.

Had there been a near advantage and a short journey, they would certainly have followed thee, but the way seemed long to them, yet will they swear by God 'Had we been able we had surely gone forth with you,' they are self-destroyers! And God knoweth that they are surely liars.

God forgive thee! Why didst thou give them leave to stay behind, ere they who made true excuses

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[1] This verse is said to be abrogated by the ninety-second verse which makes some exceptions

It shall be no crime in the weak and in the sick and in those who find not the means of contributing to stay at home, provided they are sincere with God and His Apostle—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 92.

had become known to thee, and thou hadst known the liars?

They only will ask thy leave who believe not in God and in the last day, and whose hearts are full of doubts and who are tossed up and down in their doubtings

Moreover, had they been desirous to take the field, they would have got ready for that purpose the munitions of war. But God was averse to their marching forth and made them laggards.

Had they taken the field with you, they would only have added a burden to you and have hurried about among you, stirring you up to sedition—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 38—9 41—3 45—7.

They who were left at home were delighted to stay behind God's Apostle, and were averse from contending with their riches and their persons for the cause of God and said, 'March not out in the heat' Say, 'A fiercer heat will be the fire of hell.' Would that they understood this—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 82.

When a Súra was sent down with 'Believe in God and go forth to war with the Apostle,' those of them who are possessed of riches demanded exemption and said, 'Allow us to be with those who sit at home'—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 87.[1]

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[1] The whole passage, verses 82-107, deals with this subject. I have quoted only a few verses.

The faithless Bedouins are severely rebuked thus:

> Some Arabs of the desert came with excuses, praying exemption, and they who had gainsaid God and His Apostle sat at home, a grievous punishment light on such of them as believe not—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 91.
>
> The Arabs of the desert are most stout in unbelief and dissimulation. . .
>
> Of the Arabs of the desert there are some who reckon what they expend in the cause of God as tribute and wait for some change of fortune to befall you, a change for evil shall befall them! God is the Hearer, the Knower—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 98—9.

Thus, all who held back are rebuked, and the Prophet and those who went are highly commended and told that 'all good things' await them, for God hath made for them 'gardens beneath which the rivers flow' where there is bliss for ever[1] Some believers afterwards confessed their fault and were forgiven, but the Prophet was told to take of their substance in order to cleanse and purify them Some others were kept waiting before a decision was given in their favour, but at last they too were pardoned

> Others have owned their faults, and with an action that is right they have mixed another

[1] Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 90.

that is wrong. God will haply be turned to them, for God is Forgiving, Merciful.

Take alms of their substance, that thou mayest cleanse and purify them thereby and pray for them, for thy prayers shall assure their minds: and God Heareth, Knoweth—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 103—4.

The tenth verse in the same Súra:

And others await the decisions of God, whether He will punish them, or whether He will be turned unto them, for God is Knowing, Wise,

is said to have special reference to Ka'b ibn Málik, a warrior, who had received eleven wounds at Uhud He was also a poet. He and two of his friends had no valid reason for not going to Tabúk and their defection set a bad example. Their conduct could not be passed over in silence. They were excommunicated for fifty days and prohibited from holding any intercourse with their wives or families Then Muḥammad, seeing their miserable condition, relented and this revelation came

He hath turned Him unto the three who were left behind, so that the earth, spacious as it is, became too strait for them, and their souls became so straitened within them, that they bethought them that there was no refuge from God but unto Himself. Then was He turned to them, that they might be turned to Him, for God is He that turneth, the Merciful—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 119.

This ninth Súra is the last one, or the last but one, revealed.[1] It is fierce and intolerant, and shows how advancing years, instead of mellowing and softening the temper of the Prophet, only developed his warlike spirit which loved to receive the supposed divine injunction:

> O Prophet! contend against the infidels and the hypocrites and be rigorous with them. Hell shall be their dwelling place! Wretched the journey thither!—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 74.[2]

Whilst the call to arms is general Muhammad exempted students and religious teachers:

> The faithful must not march forth altogether to the wars, and if a party of every band march not out, it is that they may instruct their people in their religion and may warn their people when they come back to them, that they take heed to themselves—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 123.

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[1] It belongs for the most part to the ninth year of the Hijra, though verses 13—16 belong to the previous year. The verses 36—7 belong to the year A H. 10. The other verses are not arranged in any regular chronological order, but the Súra, as a whole, represents the mind of the Prophet in the eighth and ninth year of his power, and is chiefly remarkable for its arrogant intolerance. See Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qoráns*, pp 165—9

[2] Nöldeke places this verse after the return from Tabúq, or the latter part of A.H. 9—*Geschichte des Qoráns*, p. 167. See also *Tafsír-i-Husaini* on verse 75.

As Muḥammad was preparing to go to Tabúq he was asked to open a newly-erected Mosque at Kúba. He found on his return that it had been built with a sectarian spirit, so he ordered it to be destroyed and said:

> There are some who have built a Mosque for mischief and for infidelity and to disunite the faithful and in expectation of him, who in time past warred against God and His Apostle. They will surely swear 'our aim was only good,' but God is witness that they are liars.
>
> Never set thy foot in it.[1] There is a Mosque founded from its first day in piety. More worthy is it that thou enter therein, therein are men who aspire to purity and God loveth the purified.
>
> Which of the two is best? He who hath founded his building on the fear of God and the desire to please Him, or he who hath founded his building on the brink of an undermined bank washed away by torrents, so that it rusheth with him into the fire of Hell? But God guideth not the doers of wrong.
>
> Their building which they have built will not cease to cause uneasiness in their hearts, until their hearts are cut in pieces. God is Knowing, Wise—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 108—110.

The expedition to Tabúq was the last one commanded by Muhammad in person, and now

[1] Or, never stand there in it (to pray).

it seemed 'as if all opposition' was crushed, all danger over.[1] There is a tradition to the effect that 'the followers of the Prophet began to sell their arms and to say, 'The wars for religion are now ended.' But when this reached the ears of the Prophet, he forbade it saying, 'There shall not cease from the midst of my people a party engaged in war for the truth, even until Antichrist appear.'[2] Whether the tradition is a genuine one or not, it shows at least the views which the early Muslims held as to religious wars and is quite in accord with the tradition already referred to,[3] 'Jihád will remain till the day of judgment.'

The compulsion of the Jews and Christians, after the expedition to Tabuq, is sanctioned in some verses of Súratu't-Tauba (IX), which the best authorities place soon after that date.

> Make war upon those who believe not in God, nor in the last day, and who forbid not that which God and His Apostle have forbidden and

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[1] 'During the ten years of his residence in Madína Muhammad organized thirty-eight military expeditions, and twenty-seven of these he accompanied in person, as chief commander, for the furtherance of the cause of Islám.'—See ibn Isháq and ibn Hishám, quoted by Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 328.

[2] Wáqidi quoted by Muir, *Life of Mohamet*, vol. iv, p. 202.

[3] *Ante*, p. 137.

who profess not the profession of the truth, until they pay tribute out of hand, and they be humbled.

The Jews say, 'Ezra ('Uzair) is a son of God,' and the Christians say, 'The Messiah is a son of God.' Such the sayings in their mouths. They resemble the saying of the infidels of old! God do battle with them![1] How are they misguided!

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[1] Rodwell translates these words as 'God do battle with them,' Palmer as 'God fought them;' Sale as 'May God resist them.' The opinion of the commentators is much the same, for Sháh Wali Ulláh Muhaddath translates them by لعنت کرد ایشان را خدا—'God cursed them.' Ibn 'Abbás says لعنهم الله—'God cursed them.' Husain says لعنت کناد خدای بر ایشان—'May God curse them.'

The *Khalásatu't-Tafásir* also has ہلاک کرے انکو الله—'May God destroy them.'

Baidáwí gives the following explanation

دعاء عليهم بالاهلاك فانّ من قاتله الله هلك او تعجّب من شناعة قولهم

'A prayer for their destruction for he whom God fights against is destroyed, or astonishment at the odiousness of their sayings.'

Nadhír Ahmad in his Urdu translation of the Qur'án says. خدا انکو غارت کرے—'May God make havoc of them.' Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qádir's Urdu translation has مار ڈالے انکو الله—'May God kill them.'

The words in the Qur'án are literally. قَاتَلَهُمُ الله

They take their teachers and their monks and their Messiah, son of Mary, for lords besides

'kill them' All this is not in accordance with the kindly tone of a passage in the fifth Súra

Thou wilt find the nearest in love to those who believe to be those who say 'We are Christians'—this is, because there are amongst them priests and monks, and because they are not proud—Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 85.

It must, however, be borne in mind that these words are followed by a verse showing the readiness of these Christians to embrace Islám

And when they hear what hath been revealed to the Prophet, you will see their eyes gush with tears at what they recognize as truth therein, and they will say, 'O our Lord, we believe, write us down with those who bear witness'—Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 86

In any case, these two verses, just quoted in this note, do not deal with the general subject of the relation of Muslims to Christians, and are limited in their application Again, they do not express the matured and final feelings of the Prophet, for though they occur in the latest Súra of all, the fifth, they themselves belong to the earlier period They are antecedent to the fiercer verses of the ninth Sura quoted in the text As a proof of this, we find that the commentator Ḥusain says that they refer to seventy persons sent to Muḥammad by Najáshi, the king of Abyssinia, who had shown great kindness to the Meccan refugees (*Ante*, p 35). This was about the seventh year of the Hijra So, assuming that these Christians did not come till this late period, it was still some two years before the stricter order in Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 56, absolutely prohibiting friendship

> God[1] though bidden to worship one God only.
> There is no god but He. Far from His glory
> be what they associate with Him.

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with Jews or Christians, was given, and this is the final word on the subject

> O Believers take not the Jews or Christians as friends. If any one of you taketh them for his friends, he surely is one of them! God will not guide the evil doers—Súratu'l-Ma'ida (v) 56.

Ḥusain says that the Prophet read the Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) to these Christian visitors, who were delighted and said to one another, 'What perfect similarity it has to that which came to Jesus.' They then accepted Islám

احکام اسلام و ایمان قبول کرده بایکدیگر گفتند که قران چه مشابهت تمام دارد بانچه بر عیسی نازل شده

Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí, vol. i, p 155

1 اِتَّخَذُوا أَحْبَارَهُمْ وَ رُهْبَانَهُمْ أَرْبَابًا مِنْ دُونِ اللّٰهِ

Ḥusain translates this passage of the Qur'án by,

فرا گرفتند یهود و نصاری علمای خود را و عُباد خود را بخدایان

'The Jews and Christians take their learned and pious men to be gods' The word أَرْبَابًا is here the plural of رَبٌّ. It is an allusion to the word (رَبّی) Rabbi, used by the Jews and Christians of their priests, but in Arabic of God only. See Rodwell's *Qur'án*, p. 616, Palmer's *Qur'án*, vol. i, p. 177

There was no harm in a Jew's calling a learned man or a religious leader a Rabbi, but Muhammad made a blunder and altogether mistook the meaning of the word. This is accounted for by his ignorance of Hebrew. But

Fain would they put out God s light with their mouths [1] but God only desireth to perfect His light albeit the infidels abhor it

He it is who hath sent His Apostle with the guidance and a religion of the truth that he

another difficulty arises for it is not according to the orthodox view of inspiration Muhammad who speaks in the Qur án but God through him It seems clear that this verse overthrows the idea of the verbal or wahi inspiration of the Qur án

[1] يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يُطْفِئُوا نُورَ اللَّهِ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ

Husain says that th s light is the Qur án or the prophetship of Muhammad or the clear proof of his holiness and conti ience

قرآن است یا نبوت محمد را یا حجت روشن بر نقدس و سرہ او ار رن — *Tafsir i Husaini* vol p 254

Baidáwí says it is the Qur án or the prophetship of Muh immad l explains v th the mouths to mean with their polytheism and lies

Others say It is a metaphor meaning God s l ght or the true religion—Islám or the pure Qur án or the Most Holy l resence

استعارہ هی کہ دین حق یا اسلام یا قرآن پاک یا حضور اقدس

Khalásat i t Tafásir vol ii p 242

The Most Holy l resence is said to refer to Muhammad and to the nú i Muhammadi to be a proof that the light of Muhammad and the religion of Ahmad is per manent and cannot be abolished

معلوم هوا کہ نور محمدی اور دین احمدی دائمی هی کسی کے مٹائے مٹ نہ سکیگا

Khalásatu t-Taf sir vol ii p 243

may make it victorious over every religion,[1] albeit they who assign partners to God be averse from it

O Believers! of a truth many of the teachers and monks do devour man's substance in vanity and turn them from the way of God But to those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the way of God announce tidings of a grievous torment

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It is said that With their mouths is a figurative expression to denote that by the lies they tell the true religion may be prevented from spreading

[1] هو الذی أرسل رسوله بالهدی و دین الحق لیظهره علی الدین کله

This is explained to mean that God has sent Muhammad with Islám the true religion and that it conquers all other religions and abrogates their laws and that after the descent of Jesus there will be no religion but Islám in the world

و غالب گرداند دین خود را بر همه دینها و منسوخ سازد احکام آنرا و آن بعد از نزول عیسی خواهد بود که بر روی زمین جز دین اسلام نماند

Tafsír i Husaini vol i p 254

In the *Khalásatu t Tafásír* vol ii p 243 we have the following statement اسلام ناسخ الادیان غالب البرهان

Islám is the abrogator of religions and an evident conqueror

Abdu lláh ibn Abbas says it means all religions whether of the past or yet to come

> On that day when it shall be heated in the fire of hell and their brows shall be branded therewith and their sides and their backs—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 29—35.[1]

These verses connected with the Prophet's last warlike expedition, an expedition entirely concerned with the submission of Christian and

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[1] This whole passage is one of such importance that I give the views of the commentator Ḥusain at some length on it He says.

بکشید ای مومنان و کارزار کنید باآنکه ایمان ندارند بخدای
یعنی یهود که به تثنیه قائل اند و نصاری که تثلیث را معتقد
اند نمی گروند بروز قیامت یهود گویند که در بهشت اکل و
شرب نخواهد بود و نصاری معاد روحانی را اثبات میکنند و
محرم نمیدانند آنچه حرام کرده است خدای از خمر و خنزیر و
آنچه حرام کرده است رسول او یعنی محرم نمیدانند آنچه
حرمت او بکتاب و سنت ثابت شده است - باهل کتاب مقاتله
کنید تا وقتیکه بدهند جزیه و حال آنکه ایشان خوار شدگان
باشند یعنی جزیه بدست آرند و نشینند تا وقتیکه تسلیم کنند
یا از ایشان جزیه بگیرند و گردن ایشان را بسیلی فرو کوبند

—*Tafsír-i-Husainí*, vol 1, p. 253

'O believers kill and fight those who do not believe in God, that is, the Jews who believe in Duality and the Christians who are believers in a Trinity, they do not accept the day of Judgment; and the Jews say that in Paradise there is no eating and drinking and the Christians affirm that it is only a spiritual state. They do not consider as unlawful that which God has made so, such as, leaven and pigs, and that which the Prophet has declared unlawful, that is, they do not

Jewish communities, may be fairly taken as his final and deliberate opinion as to the future relation of Islám to these creeds and people.

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consider unlawful that which in the Qur'án and the Sunna is proved to be so You should fight with the people of the Book until they pay the jizya, and their state should be a very abject one, that is, they must pay the jizya with their own hand and not sit down until they have rendered obeisance, or take the jizya from them and with a slapping on the back of the neck beat them down.'

Here it is quite clear that the reference is not to the pagan Arabs but to Jews and Christians, and from this verse and especially the words 'they be humbled' has arisen the contemptuous treatment of the Dhimmís in Muslim lands. There is some difference of opinion as to the persons from whom the jizya may be taken. Imám Sháfa'i says it can only be taken from the Jews and Christians; Imám A'zam says all polytheists should pay. *He excepts the pagan Arabs, to whom is given* only the choice between Islám and the sword (يا تيغ يا اسلام). Imám Málik says it may be received from all infidels except apostates, and for them the order is death. The material nature of heaven is implied, and the co-ordinate authority of the Qur'án and the Sunna is maintained.

As regards Ezra ('Uzair) Ḥusain relates a tradition to the effect that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed all the copies of the Pentateuch, but that Ezra had committed it to memory and, on his way back from captivity, he died, and then, after a hundred years, he rose from the dead and dictated the Pentateuch. The Jews marvelled and said, this was because he was a son of God. There is no Jewish authority for this tradition, and so the charge

The last Súra, Súratu'l-Má'ida (v), contains a verse (56) similar in tone to those just quoted, but it is probably an interpolation in this Súra and its date is said to be just after the battle of Uhud [1] If this is so, it simply shows that the

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against the Jews is not proved and may be dismissed as a pure invention

This tradition is referred to in another form in the Súratu'l-Baqara (ii), 261

> Like him who passed by a city which had been laid in ruins, and said, 'How will God revive this after death?' And God made him die for a hundred years, then He raised him and said, 'How long hast thou tarried?' He replied, 'I have tarried a day, or some part of a day' He said, 'Nay thou hast tarried a hundred years look at thy food and drink, they are not spoiled, and look at thine ass, for we will make thee a sign to men, and look at the bones how we scatter them, and then clothe them with flesh'

The commentators refer this to Ezra, who is said to have passed by the ruins of Jerusalem and to have doubted whether it could ever be rebuilt. God then performed this miracle as a 'sign to men' (See *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol i, p 50) Baidáwí says it is Ezra or Elias (al-Khidr) Muhammad has here confused Ezra with Nehemiah. The fable has its origin probably in some inaccurate account given to the Prophet of Nehemiah's ride round the ruined city—*Nehemiah*, ii. 11—16.

[1] Ibn Kathír says this verse came down at the time when the Bani Quraiza (*ante*, p. 129) were rendered helpless, a proof of the earlier date of the verse. See *Khalásatu't-Tafásir*, vol. i, p. 535.

final injunction in the ninth Súra regarding Jews and Christians was no hasty opinion, called forth by special circumstances, but the development of a principle settled some years before. The verse is:

> O ye who believe, take not the Jews and Christians as your friends, for they are but one another's friends; whoso amongst you taketh them for friends, verily he is one of them,[1] and verily God guideth not unjust people—Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 56[2]

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[1] Ḥusain in his comment on those words says that this is 'a very strong injunction in the matter of friendship with Jews and Christians'

این سخن غایت تهدید در موالات یهود و نصاری

Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí, vol i, p. 149

[2] This verse seems to contradict the apparently more liberal view in

> To thee have we sent down the Book with truth, confirmatory of previous Scriptures and their safeguard Judge therefore between them by what God hath sent down, and follow not their desires by deserting the truth which hath come unto them For each one of you have we given a law and an open path,
>
> And if God had pleased He had surely made you one people, but He would test you by what He hath given to each —Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 52-3

The testing is said to be by 'divers laws, suitable for each member, and each period of time, or age, so that the obedient may be distinguished from the disobedient.'

Thus did Muhammad finally part company with those for whom, in the earlier stages of his career, he had professed respect, whose sacred books he had referred to with reverence, and from whose teaching he had borrowed all that was good in his own. Having now arrived at supreme power he could afford to cast aside all

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از هرائع مختلفة مناسب هر عصری و زمانی تا مطیع از عاصی
متمیز هود.—*Tafsír-i-Husainí*, vol. i, p 148.

These two verses have sorely troubled the commentators, for they seem to show that the differences of religion were by God's appointment, whereas from the context we should have expected them to be the result of human sin and waywardness. The orthodox explanation is that the words لكلّ 'for each one' do not apply to each individual, each period or each tribe, but to each prophet to whom a law has been sent down so that the meaning of the whole passage is, that God has given to each prophet a law which the people of that age, until such law is abrogated, should obey, and so it goes on with successive prophets and religions Now, Jews and Christians can no longer follow their distinctive laws, for both are abrogated and Islám is now the law of this age—*Khalásatu't-Tafásír*, vol i, p. 530.

'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás says لكلّ means 'each Prophet,' and explains it as لكلّ نبى منكم—'each prophet from amongst you' The commentators Sháh Walí Ulláh Muḥaddath and Ḥusain translate لكلّ by هر گروه 'each tribe.'

that had helped him on his way, and all this he now brought into subjection to himself.[1]

It cannot be maintained, though it has been said, that Islám was or is propagated by peaceful methods alone.[2] It is admitted that such has sometimes been the case, and also that some forms of Christianity have been propagated by force; but the real point is, that the employment of force is neither according to the spirit nor to the injunctions of the founder of

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[1] It is interesting to note that the charges against Christians of looking upon the Virgin Mary as the third person of the Trinity is made in the last of all the Súras.

> O Jesus, Son of Mary, hast thou said unto mankind 'Take me and my mother as two Gods beside God?' He shall say: 'Glory be unto Thee! it is not for me to say that which I know to be not the truth'—Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 116

Whether Muhammad knew better or not is uncertain, but, however that may be, this is his parting accusation. He could have ascertained the true facts of the case, for on Christian monuments found by Dr. E. Glaser in Yemen, the Sirwah inscription opens with the words, 'In the power of the all-Merciful and His Messiah and the Holy Ghost.' (Zwemer, *Islám*, p. 21.) To say the least, Muḥammad here made a serious mistake, which it is difficult to reconcile with the verbal inspiration of the Qur'án.

[2] I have not quoted in the text the passage against unbelievers in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 186—9, because it may refer to the pilgrimage to Mecca in the year A.H. 7,

Christianity: it is, however, in accordance with the mind and in conformity with the actions of Muhammad whose last words to his people on

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in which case it would be a late interpolation in this Súra. If this is so, it refers only to the Prophet's adversaries in Mecca, but of them it is said:

> Fight against them till there be no more tumult and the only worship be that of God—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 189. The Arabic text is:
>
> وَقَاتِلُوهُمْ حَتَّى لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةٌ وَيَكُونَ الدِّينُ لِلّٰهِ

We may note that the verb is قَتَلَ, kill, not جَهَدَ, make Jihád, so that all arguments, based on the assertion that in the Qur'án جَهَدَ does not mean 'make war,' but 'strive earnestly' do not apply in such a verse as this, nor at all soften the fierceness of the order. If it does apply to the Meccans alone, it still proves that in Arabia Islám was, and was meant to be, propagated by the sword and not by peaceful methods alone It is not a mere civil war against an established government that is here described, but a religious war on the Meccans who were not the subjects of the Prophet, as the ruler of Madína, and who did not want to accept either his political rule or his religious headship

This is the mildest view of the passage, but many Muslims do not so limit its application. They see in it a clear call to Jihád, or religious war, in all ages. The tradition, 'Jihád will go on until the day of judgment,' اَلْجِهَادُ مَاضٍي اِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ is very often quoted with approval.

the point are plain. So long as Islám lives will these words ring in the ears of every orthodox Muslim, '*God do battle with them!*' The legacy of the Prophet is no word of peace, but an inspiring war cry which as years roll on ever keeps alive a fanatical spirit. It is a sad ending to the life work of so great a man.[1] At the same time it may also be admitted that where

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It is also said that the one hundred and eighty-ninth verse applies to all, except those who pay the tax called the jizya, or who are in alliance with Muslims, but in the Arabian peninsula no infidel was to be allowed to remain, and the life of no apostate (مرتدّ) was to be spared (*Khalásatu't-Tafásir*, vol. i, p. 132); so that, in their possibly limited application, as in their probably extended one, these words conclusively show that Islám was not propagated by peaceful methods.

In the two hundred and forty-fifth verse we have the words قَاتِلُو فِى سَبِيلِ اللّٰهِ—'Kill in the path of God.' The commentator Ḥusain says on this:

در راهٔ خدای برای اشکارا کردن دین خدای

'Fight in God's cause to make known the religion of God.' (*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 44.) Here again it is clearly said that Islám is to be made known by the sword.

[1] The most recent attempt to show that Islám is propagated by peaceful methods is in the very interesting book, called *The Preaching of Islám*, by T. W. Arnold. The author quotes at the commencement of his book (pp. 3—6) many of, if not all, the kindly expressions he canfind in the Qur'án. Strange to say, though he quotes

Islám is modified by contact with higher civilizations, as in India, the spirit of intolerance which the Súratu't-Tauba (ix) inculcates is much lessened. Amongst Muslims of the new school a friendly spirit towards men of other creeds is becoming more and more common: but this is a welcome departure from its earliest principles.

This idea of the sacred war incumbent upon all the faithful was only gradually arrived at. This conception that all 'the religion should be of God,' that Islám should be supreme, was a grand one, and as political power increased it

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from this very Súra, the ninth one, he entirely omits these verses (29—35) which run directly counter to the whole argument of his book. Stanley Lane-Poole considers, that 'these later denunciations probably annul the more favourable judgments elsewhere expressed' (*Studies in a Mosque*, p. 155). It is a fact that Christians do say, 'The Messiah is a Son of God' Muhammad advocated no peaceful method with such, but said, '*God do battle with them*,' and this towards the close of his mission and in his old age, with thoughts well matured and plans formed A tradition recorded by Wáqidi states that on his death-bed Muḥammad said, 'The Lord destroy the Jews and Christians.' But it is not necessary to press this point, for the tradition may not be one of much authority. The latest revelations of the Qur'án itself are quite enough, as I have shown, to reveal the Prophet's final attitude of uncompromising hostility to all who differed from him. See Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv, p. 270.

took clearer shape in the Prophet's mind. He had now left far behind such sentiments as were expressed at the latter part of the Meccan period:

> Dispute ye not, unless in kindliest sort, with the people of the Book—Súratu'l-'Ankabút (xxix) 45.[1]

He had forgotten the excellent advice he once gave to his followers, some seven or eight years previously, when they first came to Madína and were feeling their way with Jews, Christians and pagans. He then said:

> Let there be no compulsion in religion—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 257.[2]

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[1] Ante, pp. 101—3.

[2] لَآ اِكۡرَاهَ فِی الدِّيۡنِ It is said that this does not touch the general law about the enforcement of the jizya, or poll-tax, of imprisonment and for renegades the penalty of death, but refers to the special case of two Christians, who did not wish to become Muslims. 'A certain man named Hasin had two sons who were Christians and did not wish to become Muslims, this (verse) shows that there was to be no compulsion.'

حصین نامی ایک مرد کے دو لڑکے نصرانی تھے اور اسلام پر
راضی نہوتے تو ارشاد ہوا کہ دین میں جبر نہیں

Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír, vol. i, p. 202.

Husain says that it refers to the two sons of one of the Anṣár, named Abú'l-Ḥaṣín, who were led away by a Syrian fire-worshipper. The father wished to use force

It was all different now; there was to be the most absolute compulsion; but a victorious leader could assume a position and dictate in a way a fugitive preacher with a position yet to make

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to restrain them, but Muhammad forbade it and told him not to interfere with any one 'firm in religion.'

ابو الحصین انصاری دو پسر قابل داشت ناگاه ترسای از شام
به مدینه آمد با او مصاحبت نمودند بوجه فسون و فسانهٔ وی
مغرور گشته و دین ترسائی اختیار کردند و همراه او متوجه شام
شدند ابو الحصین از حضرت رسالت پناه دستوری خواست
تا برود و ایشان را باکراه براه شرع باز آرد و این آیت نازل شد
که اکراه مکنید کسی را که بدینی متدین شده است

He says further that it applies to Christians, Jews, Magians and the Sabiáns (*ante*, p. 106), provided that they pay the jizya, or poll-tax, but that as regards the Arabs, who refuse to become Muslims, it is abrogated by the 'verse of the killing' which reads 'kill them wherever ye shall find them'—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 187.

اکراه هیچکس را از یهود و نصرانی و مجوس و صابیان بر
آوردن اسلام بشرطِ قبولِ جزیه - گفته اند حکم این آیت بآیت
قتال منسوخ است از تمام قبائل عرب جز دین اسلام قبول نبود

Tafsír-i-Husaini, vol. i, p. 48.

Baiḍáwí (vol. i, p. 132), also speaks of its abrogation by the words

> O Prophet, contend against the Infidels and the Hypocrites and be rigorous with them—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 74.

It is quite clear, therefore, that no general principle of toleration is here laid down. For Arabs there was

could not. 'The intoxication of success had long since stilled the voice of his better self. The aged Prophet, standing on the brink of the grave, and leaving as his last legacy a mandate of universal war, irresistibly recalls, by force of contrast, the parting words to his disciples by another religious teacher, that they should go forth and preach a Gospel of peace to all nations. Nor less striking in their contrast is the response to either mandate—the Arab, with the Qur'án in one hand and the sword in the other, spreading his creed amid the glare of burning cities and the shrieks of violated homes,—and the apostles of Christ working in the moral darkness of the Roman world with the gentle but irresistible power of light, laying anew the foundations of society and cleansing at their source the polluted springs of national and domestic life.'[1]

In the one hundred and third verse of the

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absolutely none, and men of other religions were only permitted to live on payment of a poll-tax, so that even in their case there was no real toleration.

It is most important to ascertain the respective dates of all such mild passages and also of the harsher verses. Merely to cast together all the kindly ones without any reference to their date, or the circumstances under which they were delivered, as is sometime done, is simply misleading.

[1] Osborn, *Islám under the Arabs*, p. 54.

second Súra the Jews are represented as wishing to lead the Muslims astray, and the latter are told to be patient and forgiving:

> Many of the people of the Book desire to bring you back to unbelief after ye have believed, out of selfish envy, even after the truth hath been clearly shown to them. But forgive them and shun them till God shall come in with His working. Truly God hath power over all things—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 103.

According to the commentators Mu'álim and Mazhar the Jews were those who, after the defeat of the Muslims in the battle of Uhud, reproached them and said that it proved their religion to be false. They were to be patient with them till the order for killing came. Other commentators say it is abrogated by the verse of Jihád.[1]

Ḥusain interprets the words 'till God shall come in with His working,'[2] as meaning 'till

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[1] معالم اور مطهر مین هی که بعد جنگ احد یهود مسلمانون کو طعن کرتے اور کهتے اگر دین تمهارا حق اور محمد پیغمبر هوتے تو ایسی شکست نملتی ارشاد هوا جب تک حکم قتال نه اترے صبر کرو مگر دوسری تفسیرون مین یه قصة مذکور نهین هوا اور مشرر مین هی که مسلمانون کو بهگاتے تهے الله تعالی نے فرمایا که تم ابهی صبر کرو اور یه آیت جهاد سے منسوخ هی—*Khalásatu't-Tafásir*, vol i, p. 62.

[2] تا وقتیکه بیارد خدای فرمان خود را که حکم است بقتال یا امر بجهرية—*Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí*, vol. i, p. 18.

the time when God brings the order for killing or for the imposition of the jizya, or poll-tax.'

Thus it is clear that, however desirous Muḥammad may have been, when his position was weakened after his defeat at Uhud, to conciliate the Jews, who were then a source of danger, it was only a temporary expedient and Muslim authorities do not consider it binding on them now that the 'verse of killing' has been revealed.

Muhammad did not go to Mecca at the usual time of the annual pilgrimage, for heathen people were still present;[1] so in the ninth year of the Hijra he sent Abú Bakr with a small body of pilgrims. Still this condition of things could not be allowed to go on, and so a revelation came releasing the Prophet from any obligation to

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Baidáwí explains 'His working' to mean 'the order for their slaughter and the exaction of the jizya; or the killing of the Bani Quraiza and the banishment of the Bani Nadhír.' Ibn 'Abbas holds that the advice to show forgiveness is cancelled by the 'verse of the sword'—Baiḍáwí, vol. i, p 79

[1] 'As it had reached the august hearing of his lordship that the idolaters were in the habit of circumambulating the house of Alláh in the same manner as in the time of ignorance (i.e., pre-Islámic days) and in a state of perfect nudity, he was so disgusted that he felt disinclined to come in contact with them himself'—*Raudatu'ṣ-Ṣafá*, part ii, vol. ii, p. 673.

respect the heathen Arabs. This revelation was given by Muḥammad to 'Alí, who, starting after Abú Bakr and the pilgrims had left, joined him and his party at Mecca. Towards the close of the pilgrimage, 'Alí read out the revelation, which Muhammad had given him as God's message, to a large multitude of the Arabs assembled for the pilgrimage.[1] The opening words are.

> An immunity from God and His Apostle to those polytheists with whom ye have made a league among the polytheist Arabs.
>
> Go ye, therefore, at large in the land four months, but know that God ye shall not weaken,[2] and that God will put to shame the infidels.
>
> And a proclamation on the part of God and His Apostle to the people on the day of the greater Pilgrimage,[3] that God and His Apostle are free from any engagement with the polytheists.[4] If therefore ye turn to God it will be better

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[1] 'It is said that 'Alí made it clear to them that between unbelievers and believers, idolaters and worshippers of the Unity, there could be no treaty and no peace, and that in Paradise there will be none except Muslims'—*Khalásatu't-Tafásír*, vol. ii, p 215.

[2] Literally, 'that ye cannot weaken God,' that is, hinder Him in this His purpose.

[3] The Ḥajj, not the 'Umra, or Lesser Pilgrimage.

[4] Husain translates the clause وَٱللَّهُ بَرِيٓءٌ مِّنَ ٱلْمُشْرِكِينَ

for you; but if ye turn back, then know that ye shall not weaken God, and to those who believe not announce a grievous punishment.

But this concerneth not those polytheists with whom ye are in league, and who shall afterwards have in no way failed you, nor aided any one against you. Observe, therefore, engagement with them through the whole time of their treaty, for God loveth those who fear Him.

And when the sacred months are past, kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them, and seize them, besiege them, and lay wait for them with every kind of ambush; but if they repent and observe the prayers, and pay the obligatory alms, then let them go their way, for God is Gracious, Merciful—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 1—5.

There is apparent contradiction between the first verse which declares Muhammad's immunity and freedom from the observance of treaties and the fourth verse which speaks of a league with friendly polytheists. The explanation probably is that, whilst as polytheists they could not be

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خدا بیزار است از مشرکین و عهود ایشان و پیغمبر by
نیز بیزار است

'God is absolved from, or free from any treaty with the polytheists, and so is His Apostle also'—*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 247.

allowed to come to the pilgrimage, the treaty with them would, in other respects, be observed. The pilgrims who were still unbelievers listened to all that 'Alí had to say, including the statement:

> O Believers! only the polytheists are unclean! Let them (i.e., pagans) not, therefore, after this year come near the Sacred Temple—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 28.

This order was so clear and distinct, and was now so well supported by material force that there was nothing to do but to submit, which the Arabs then did.

All opposition had now been broken down, and, as the Ka'ba was purged of all idolatrous connexions and none but believers might enter it, Muhammad determined to make the 'Greater Pilgrimage' in this the tenth year of the Hijra. It is said that he was attended by more than one hundred thousand persons. After the circumambulation was over he turned to the Maqám-i-Ibrahim, or Place of Abraham, and said, 'consider the Place of Abraham as a place of prayer.' He then said the Fátiḥa, the opening Súra of the Qur'án, then Súratu'l-Káfirún (cix), then the Súratu'l-Ikhlás (cxii). He then went most carefully through the whole ceremonial, including the kissing of the black stone and the drinking of water from the sacred well,

and all other of the old pagan rites.[1] The opportunity was taken to deliver an address on inheritance, adultery, treatment of women, who on occasion were to be 'beaten with stripes, yet not severely,' on slaves, and on the equality of Muslims. The portion[2] of the Súratu't-Tauba (ix) abolishing the triennial intercalation of a month to reduce the lunar to the solar years was recited, and the month of the Pilgrimage fixed according to the changing seasons of the lunar year. This change seriously affected the commerce of Mecca, though the institution of the Ḥajj, with the large number of pilgrims it brings to the city, to some extent compensated for it. 'Previously by unscientific intercalation the months had been made to correspond roughly with the seasons; Muhammad by now making twelve lunar months, destroyed all relation between them. Of any accommodation of the

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[1] A tradition states that Muḥammad said: 'Observe, and learn of me the ceremonies which ye should practise, for I know not whether after this I shall ever perform another pilgrimage'—Wáqidi, quoted by Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv, p. 234.

He made the first three ṭawáf, or circumambulations, quickly and the last four slowly. (*Raudatu's-Ṣafá*, part ii, vol. ii, p. 696.) This is the custom still, being according to the Sunna, i.e., the example set by the Prophet.

[2] Verses 36—7.

Pilgrimage months to the needs of commerce there would no longer be any question . . . . The commerce of Mecca was ruined.'[1]

On one of the days he went to the top of the Mount 'Arafát and then, standing erect on his camel, said:[2]

> This day I have perfected your religion unto you and fulfilled my mercy upon you, and appointed Islám to be your religion[3]—Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 5.

He then proceeded to Muzdalífah, said the Ṣalátu'l-Maghrib and the Ṣalátu'l-'Ishá—the sunset and the evening prayers—with the Adhán or call to prayer and the Iqámat, a repetition of

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[1] Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p 393.

[2] *Raudatu's-Safá*, part II, vol. II, p. 696.

[3] الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

'Abdu'llah ibn 'Abbás says this means, 'I have explained to you the laws regarding things lawful and unlawful, and the positive and negative precepts—after this day no polytheists must come to 'Arafát and Mína or make the circumambulation (tawáf) of the Ka'ba, or the running (sa'í) between Ṣafa and Marwa.'

Ḥusain on this fifth verse of the Súratu'l-Ma'ida says:
امروز کامل گردانیدم برای شما دین شما را که دیگر احکام اورا رقم نسخ نخواهد بود و تمام کردم بر شما نعمت خود را که حج

the Adhán with the addition of the words, 'Prayer has commenced.' In the morning he visited the holy monument (now the mosque Masharu'l-Harám) and repeated the Takbír, Alláhu Akbar, 'God is great;' the Tahlíl, 'There is no god but God;' the Ta'awwudh, 'I seek refuge from cursed Satan.' He then went through the ceremonies, sanctioned by ancient Arab custom, of throwing stones at certain pillars in the valley of Miná and so concluded the pilgrimage.

Thus, the incorporation of this pagan rite completed and perfected the religion the Arabian

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گذارید ایمن و مطمئن باشید و هیچ مشرکی با شما حج نگذارد
و اختیار کردم برای شما اسلام را دینی که پاکیزه تر از همهٔ دینها

'This day I have perfected your religion for you so that other laws will not abrogate it, and fulfilled for you my own favour that you may perform the Pilgrimage, be in safety and enjoy repose. No polytheist should make the Hajj with you, and I have appointed for you Islám, a religion purer than all other religions'—*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol i, p. 137.

Baidáwí explains 'the perfecting' in the same way, and the 'mercy,' as guidance, or grace, or the perfecting of religion—vol i, p. 247.

In the Khalásatu't-Tafásir it is said that the views of the commentators may be thus summed up: 'In our religion there is no defect in reason or in revelation: no need of any (other) dogmas: no room for improvement or for abrogating'—vol. i, p. 488.

Prophet left to his countrymen as that which superseded and abrogated all previous ones

The Suratu l Hajj (xxii) contains the revelations enjoining the duty of performing the Hajj Thus

> Proclaim to the people a Pilgrimage
>
> Let them bring the neglect of their persons to a close [1] and let them pay the r vows and circuit the Ancient House (i e Ka ba)
>
> Ye may obta n advantages from the cattle up to the set t me for slaying them then the place for sacrificing them is at the Ancient House—Suratu l Hajj (xxii) 28 30 34

This Sura is a composite one part was re vealed at Mecca and part at Madína It is not easy to say when the words just quoted were revealed but in all probability they are Madina verses given about the time of the Lesser Pilgrimage which was made in the sixth year of the Hijra

Anyhow to these commands given some years before Muhammad now gave the sanction of his own action and henceforth the Hajj or Pil grimage became one of the necessary religious acts of every Muslim At that time this was undoubtedly a politic thing to do for this

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[1] i e the uncut beard and uncovered head

recognition of the national sanctuary as the local centre of Islám and the annual rendezvous of its votaries appealed to the sentiment of all the Arab people, and especially to the Quraish who lived in Mecca. It was the one thing they all had in common with the Muslims, and so the continued existence of the pilgrimage pleased them well and drew them towards Islám. It was from Muḥammad's then standpoint a wise thing also to retain the ancient ceremonies of the Pilgrimage.[1] The Ka'ba, with all connected with it, was the object of universal reverence

[1] 'The universal reverence of the Arab for the Ka'ba, was too favourable and obvious a means for uniting all the tribes into one confederation with one common purpose in view . . . . Here, then, Muhammad found a shrine to which, as well as at which, devotion had been paid from time immemorial: it was the one thing which the scattered Arabian nation had in common—the one thing which gave them even the shadow of a national feeling; and to have dreamed of abolishing it, or even of diminishing the honours paid to it, would have been madness and ruin to his enterprise'—Palmer's *Qur'án*, Introduction, p. liii.

'It is therefore no matter of surprise, but a thing to be reasonably expected, that, in case a native of Mecca were to conceive the idea of establishing a power over the scattered tribes of Arabia, and of uniting them under one central government, he should avail himself of a means already in existence and with which he had been familiar from his youth. Muḥammad, with great practical insight and shrewdness, seized on this advantage and retained

by the Arab people. The sentiment involved in this was the most obvious means of uniting the various Arab tribes, long disunited, into one vast confederation for one great purpose. But it has really proved a source of weakness since, for it has emphasized the fact that Islám started and was formed as a national religion, and that rules and laws adapted to the needs and requirements of the Arabs of the seventh century are binding on peoples the most diverse in the nineteenth. It helps to keep Islám stationary 'The dead hand of the short-sighted author of the Qur'án is on the throat of every Muhammadan nation, and it is this claim which stultifies it in the view of any one who has studied other religions. It bears the marks of immaturity on every part of it. It proves itself to be a religion only for the childhood of a race by its minute prescriptions, its detailed precepts, its observances, its appeals to fear.'[1] The keystone of that creed is a black pebble in what was a heathen temple: a journey thither, and the performance of old pagan rites when there, are said to be the surest way to salvation. 'Chained to a black stone in a

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the heathen shrine of his native city as the local centre of Islam'—Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. xix.

[1] Dods, *Muhammad, Buddha and Christ*, p. 124.

barren wilderness, the heart and reason of the Muhammadan world would seem to have taken the similitude of the objects they reverence; and the refreshing dews and general sunshine, which fertilize all else, seek in vain for anything to quicken there.'[1]

All this is quite true of the obstacle the Pilgrimage places in the way of any enlightened reform, which can only take place when the Islámic institutions show that they are capable of modification, and this the continued obligation of the Ḥajj shows that they are not;[2] but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the retention of the Ḥajj has tended to preserve Muslim orthodoxy, has renewed from time to time the faith of the believers, and has shown to countless millions of Muslims, in the centuries which have come and gone, how Islám has united into a great brotherhood races diverse in language, colour and character, and has produced in them a passionate devotion to the memory of their Prophet.[3] 'Mecca is to the Muslim what

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[1] Osborn, *Islám under the Arabs*, p. 88.

[2] The Ḥajj is a fard duty. Maulavi Rafí'u'd-dín Ahmad in the *Nineteenth Century* for October 1897 says, 'The Ḥajj cleanses the hearts of men and makes them innocent like new-born babes.'

[3] Freeman seems to have missed this point when he says: 'Muḥammad did not or could not rise above a local

Jerusalem is to the Jew. It bears with it all the influence of centuries of associations. It carries the Muslim back to the cradle of his faith, the childhood of his Prophet; it reminds him of the struggle between the old faith and the new, of the overthrow of the idols, and the establishment of the One God. Most of all, it bids him remember that all his brother Muslims are worshipping toward the same sacred spot; that he is one of a great company of believers, united by one faith, filled with the same hopes, reverencing the same things, worshipping the same God. Muḥammad showed his knowledge of the religious emotions in man when he preserved the sanctity of the temple of

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worship; he had therefore a holy place, a place of pilgrimage. Sprung from the blood of the hereditary guardians of the Ka'ba, it was the object of his life to restore that venerated temple to its true purpose, to expel the idols from the holy place of Abraham and Ishmael. His traditionary love so clung around it that he adopted from its local worship many grotesque and superstitious ceremonies which seem strangely at variance with the generally reasonable and decorous ritual of the Moslem. In an Arab, a son of Ishmael, all this was, if not rational, at least natural. But why should Persians, Moors, Turks and Indians, aliens from the stock of Abraham, be sent to worship at a shrine the whole of whose associations belong to another nation.'—*History and Conquest of the Saracens*, p. 52.

Mecca.'[1] Thus, in one way, the retention of the Ḥajj strengthens the orthodox system of Islám, but the more it does so, the less hope there is of reform and enlightened progress. From this point of view the adoption of the pagan Pilgrimage into the Islámic system was not only a weak concession to the sentiment of an idolatrous people, but it was also a grave error of judgment.

This brings us to the conclusion of the main historical events as they are referred to in the Qur'án, but there are many other topics which we have not touched upon. Political matters, such as the formation of treaties, the conduct of the disaffected, and the treatment of allies, all now find a place in the Qur'án. Civil matters, such as laws for marriage, divorce, inheritance, evidence, wills and so on are also treated of, and the Qur'án becomes the record wherein are contained the rules and regulations of a theocratic government.[2] For the most part these occur in

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[1] Stanley Lane-Poole, *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 96.

[2] Stanley Lane-Poole, though he writes with admiration of Muḥammad, yet on this subject says: 'Islam is unfortunately a social system as well as a religion; and herein lies the great difficulty of fairly estimating its good and its bad influence in the world. . . . In all civilised and wealthy countries the social system of Islám exerts a ruinous influence on all classes, and, if there is to be any great future for the Muḥammadan

the Madína Súras. The second, fourth and fifth Súras, equivalent in length to about one-seventh part of the Qur'án, deal very fully with religious and civil duties and penal regulations. It is the weakness of Islám that in all these matters it claims to be a final and perfect revelation. It is not, as Judaism was, a local and temporary system, leading men on to fuller truth; for it asserts itself as the universal and final religion. Some of its laws may have been judicious, as a temporary expedient with barbarous races, but they are intolerable when 'proclaimed as the ultimate voice of conscience.'

It has been said, 'considered as delivered only to pagan Arabs, the religious, moral and civil precepts of the Qur'án are admirable. The error of their author was in delivering them to others beside pagan Arabs.' The temporary reform, being exalted to the position of a divine unchangeable system, then effectually and for ever blocks the road to greater and more permanent reform. In all this Muhammad showed his ignorance, for it can hardly be supposed that he knew anything of the government or laws of the great Roman Empire, and he certainly knew nothing of the real teaching of Jesus Christ.

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world, that system of society must be done away'—Lane, *Selections from the Kur-án*, pp. lxxxviii, xcix.

Had he known these things he would have seen how superior was the great legal system he sought to supersede, how much higher the Christian morality he endeavoured to set aside. A great historian remarks thus: 'A man, himself sincere and righteous, the greatest of reformers and benefactors to his own people, a preacher and legislator of truth and civilization, has eventually done more than any other mortal man to hinder the progress alike of truth and of civilization. The religious reformer has checked the advance of Christianity; the political reformer has checked the advance of freedom and indeed of organized government in any shape; the moral reformer has set his seal to the fearful evils of polygamy and slavery.'[1]

It has been well said, 'He who at Mecca is the admonisher and persuader, at Madína is the legislator and warrior, who dictates obedience and uses other weapons than the pen of the poet and the scribe. When business pressed as at Madina, poetry made way for prose, and although touches of the poetical element occasionally break forth, and he has to defend himself up to a very late period against the charge

[1] Freeman, *History and Conquests of the Saracens*, p. 59.

of being merely a poet,[1] yet this is rarely the case in the Madína Súras: and we are startled by finding obedience to God *and the Apostle*, God's gifts *and the Apostle's*, God's pleasure and *the Apostle's* spoken of in the same breath, and epithets and attributes, elsewhere applied to Alláh, openly applied to himself.'[2]

The phrase 'God and His Apostle' is a very common one in the Madína Súras and is peculiar to them.[3] The Prophet had now passed from the

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[1] Súratu Yá Sín, (xxxvi) 69.

[2] Rodwell, *Qur'án*; Introduction, p. 10.

[3] There is one apparent exception to this, for the phrase occurs in Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 158.

This is a late Meccan Súra but the verses 156—8 are evidently an interpolation from a later revelation. Their *Madína origin seems quite clear from the use of the term* ألنبى الامى 'unlettered prophet.' This is a peculiar Madína phrase. The allusion to the 'Law and the Gospel' also shows a late origin Then there is a reference to those who 'strengthen and aid' عزروة و نصروة This is a clear allusion to the Ansar, for Ḥusain (vol. i, p. 222) says نصروة means يارى دادند اورا بر دشمنان 'those who helped him against enemies;' and 'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás says that they helped with the sword. This appears to settle the question of the later date of these verses, a fact which suits the context, and which is more consistent than an earlier date would be with the use of the words, 'God and His Apostle'—See Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qoráns*, p. 118.

position of a preacher and a warner to that of a ruler of a theocratic State, and his orders are now given, in regard to a great variety of matters, with all the force of a divine sanction. The infidels are described as those who believe not and who turn their backs on God's revelation; but to the faithful it is said:

> Believe then in God and His Apostle, and in the light which we have sent down—Súratu't-Taghábun (lxiv) 8.[1]

Opposition to God and opposition to the Prophet are placed together as deserving equal punishment:

> And whoso shall oppose God and His Apostle verily God will be severe in punishment—Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 13.

The faithful are called to the opposite course of conduct:

> Obey God and His Apostle, and turn not away from him[2] now that ye hear the truth.

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[1] Ḥusain says that the 'light' is the Qur'án which is so called, 'because it is miraculous in its nature and the place where the truths concerning the orders of things lawful and unlawful are seen'—*Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. ii, p. 406.

[2] The Arabic for 'turn not away from him' is وَلَا تَوَلَّوْا عَنْهُ and it is not clear whether the term عنه 'from him' refers to God or to the Apostle.

Ḥusain says the passage means:

و بر مگردید و اعراض مکنید از امر بطاعت یا از جهاد یا از

> When we have taken any booty know that a fifth part belongeth to God and His Apostle—Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 20, 42.

The believers often needed encouragement in war. They are bidden to stand firm before the enemy, but the condition of success is to:

> Obey God and His Apostle—Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 48.

The unbelievers can do God no injury, for He will bring their deeds to nought, and so it is said:

> Believers! Obey God and His Apostle, and render not your works vain—Súratu Muhammad (xlvii) 35.

The remembrance of Him to whom the heavens and the earth belong, who brings about the revolution of day and night, and knows the secrets of all hearts, should lead men to:

> Believe in God and His Apostle—Súratu'l-Ḥadíd (lvii) 7.

فرمان خدای یا روی مکردانید از رسول چه مراد از آیت امر ست
طاعت پیغمبر و نهی از مخالفت او ذکر طاعت حق تنبیه ست
بر انکه شما میشنوید طاعت حق تعالی در طاعت رسول او ست

[4] Do not turn from or object to the order to obedience; or to Jihád or to the order of God. do not turn from the Prophet. The meaning of the verse is, that the order is to obey the Prophet and it is forbidden to oppose him. The mention of the obedience to God is an admonition to this effect, that the obedience to the High God is in

Men of truth are they, to whom a double portion of mercy will be shown, on whose path divine light shall shine, who have believed in God and His Apostle in such wise as that they now:

> Fear God and believe in His Apostle—Súratu'l-Ḥadíd (lvii) 28.

When the faithful saw the men of Mecca besieging Madina and that they fought but little, they said:

> This is what God and His Apostle promised us, and God and His Apostle spoke truly—Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 22.

A great reward will be given in the future life to those who look on God and His Apostle:

> If ye desire God and His Apostle and a home in the next life, then truly God hath prepared for those of you who are virtuous a great reward—Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 29.[1]

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the obedience to His Prophet'—*Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí*, vol. i, p. 236.

Ibn 'Abbás says it means, عن أمر الله ورسوله 'From the order of God and of His Prophet.'

[1] These words apply to the wives of the Prophet who had demanded dresses and expenditure which he could not grant. On the authority of Muslim, 'it is recorded that Abú Bakr and 'Umar found the Prophet surrounded by his pure wives, demanding the means for expenditure. He was silent and vexed and said, "see how these crowd around me and demand what I cannot give." Abú Bakr

But cursed shall they be in this world and in the next who:

> Affront God and His Apostle—Súratu'l-Ahzáb (xxxiii) 57.[1]

The day will come when their faces shall be rolled in the fire, and in their bitter torment they will reflect on the past and say:

> Oh! that we had obeyed God and obeyed the Apostle—Súratu'l-Ahzáb (xxxiii) 66.

Those who for a while believe and then draw back cannot escape the punishment due to them, for it is said:

> And when they are summoned before God and His Apostle, that He may judge between them—Súratu'n-Núr (xxiv) 46.

In the last Súra but one believers are exhorted never to allow the claims of wealth, family and home to draw them away from God and His Apostle, who should be dearer to them than all

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then pressed down the neck of 'Áyesha, and 'Umar that of Hafasa and reproved them for their conduct. The Prophet kept aloof from his wives for nineteen days. Then this revelation came, warning the women that it would be better to choose heavenly blessings in preference to the fleeting pleasures of the world'—*Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír*, vol. iii., p. 546.

[1] Mu'álim states that ibn 'Abbás says that this refers to Jews who called Ezra ('Uzair) the Son of God, to the Christians who said that Jesus was the Son of God and to the infidels of Mecca who looked upon angels as the daughters of God. The 'curse of God' is on them all.

else beside. A final warning is given which shows how the bitterness of feeling against opposition deepened in the Prophet's mind as time went on:

> Know they not, that for him who opposeth God and His Apostle is surely the fire of Hell in which he shall remain for ever [1]—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 64.

In the last verse but one of the ninth Súra Muḥammad claims some of the characteristics usually ascribed to God:

> Now hath an Apostle come to you from among yourselves, your iniquities press heavily on him: he is careful over you and towards the faithful, compassionate, merciful—Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 129.[2]

These are only a few of the many passages of the kind. This linking together of his authority

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[1] Mujáhid says that the Hypocrites amongst themselves mocked the Prophet and some said 'What would have happened had he punished us and no sign had come from heaven. Then this revelation came'—*Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. i, p. 261.

[2] Nöldeke, however, on the authority of Zamakhsharí and of the Itqán of Jalálu'd-dín as-Syúti places this verse as a Meccan one—*Geschichte des Qoráns*, p. 169.

On this verse Ḥusain says that 'Careful over you and towards the faithful, compassionate, merciful,' means

حق سبحانه هیچ پیغمبری را یکجا بدو اسم از اسمای خود اختصاص نداد مگر پیغمبر ما را

'The Holy God, has not equally distinguished any

as co-ordinate with that of God; this strong claim to the same obedience; this clear declaration of punishment for disobedience to his orders and those of God: all these are distinguishing marks of the Prophet's consciousness of growing power at Madina, leading him on to the bold assumption of a position he would not have ventured to take, or at all events did not take, in the earlier days when he dwelt at Mecca.

There is a very marked difference in the style of the Madina Súras. The language is prosaic and the poetic fire so prominent in the early Meccan Súras has died out, still there are occasional passages of great beauty, which no translation can do justice to, such as:

God! There is no god but He;
The Living, the Eternal.
Slumber takes Him not, nor sleep.
His, whatsoever is in the heavens, and
Whatsoever is in the earth.
Who is it that intercedes with Him save by His permission?
He knoweth what is before and what is behind them,

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prophet except our Prophet by two of His own names'—*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 275.

'Akrima says of the Prophet, 'You are named just as God calls Himself, the compassionate, the merciful'—*Khalásatu't-Tafásír*, vol. ii, p. 327.

Yet nought of His knowledge shall they grasp, save what He pleases.
His throne reacheth over the heavens and the earth,
And it tires Him not to guard them both,
He is the High, the Great—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 256.[1]
He maketh alive and killeth,
He hath power over all things,
He is the First and the Last;
The Seen and the Hidden:
He all things doth know—Súratu'l-Ḥadíd (lvii) 2–3.

The Arabic arrangement of the contents of the Qur'án is so confused that it conveys no idea whatever of the growth of any plan in the mind of the Prophet, and it is extremely difficult for the reader to get much intelligible historical information from it; but when the chapters are placed together, with some regard to chronological order, it is possible, as we have tried to show, to trace a gradual development of the purpose Muhammad had in view in establishing the theocratic system of Islám. The Qur'án when thus read possesses an attractive interest, as we see in it the workings of the mind of one who, whatever view we may take of his claims and

[1] This is the famous Áyatu'l-Kursí, or 'verse of the throne.'

position, was undoubtedly a great man. It is only by reading it in this way that the gradual change of style also is noticed. Critics of the Qur'án, who look at it from the chronological standpoint, note the tediousness of the later Súras. It is said by Nöldeke that 'if it were not for the exquisite flexibility of the Arabic language itself, which, however, is to be attributed more to the age in which the author lived than to his individuality, it would be scarcely bearable to read the latter portions of the Qur'án a second time.' Stanley Lane-Poole says that 'but for the rich eloquence of the old Arabic tongue, which gives some charm even to inextricable sentences and dull stories, the Qur'án at this period would be unreadable. As it is we feel we have fallen from poetry to prose, and the matter of the prose is not so superlative as to give us amends for the loss of the poetic thought of the earlier time and the musical fall of the sentences.'[1]

[1] Lane, *Selections from the Kur-án*, pp. cv, cvi.

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1	96	96	103	28	106	53	84
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